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ABSTRACT

Using aggregate data from several Idaho counties and towns, the study examined the economic forces which pressure small town people and merchants--pressures which ultimately shape and will shape small towns in areas like Idaho. Six towns chosen for intensive study were Priest River, Cottonwood, Riggins, Shoshone, Oakley, and Malad. Focusing on small towns and their businesses, the study examined the: regional economic theory (location and regional economics) by providing a spatial model of small towns; relationship between the range of goods and services and the town size; and relation between community size, migration, and the expenditure patterns of local governments by using cross-section county data. It was found that: costs of providing public services was related to population changes, and local access to commercial goods and services was also closely related to population. The evidence on public services seemed to support the contention that small communities suffer from significant diseconomies of small scale and that outmigration imposes an additional burden of increased cost on those people who remain. Transportation improvements have allowed residents of a small town-based community to have better access to the goods and services of nearby larger towns. The elimination of jobs in the countryside has reduced the role of some small towns in line with the reduced population to be served. (NQ)

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Small Towns in A Rural Area: A Study of the Problems of Small Towns in Idaho

J. R. Hamilton
D. V. Peterson
R. Reid

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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Forward

This publication is the final report of the research phase the Small Towns Assistance Project. The project was a joint research-extension project funded by the Federal Extension Service. This research, while not formally a part of the Western Regional Research Project W118: Economic and Social Significance of Human Migration for the Western Region, nevertheless benefited greatly from association with that project.

Several other publications are also products of this research. "The Economic Effects of Population Changes in Rural Small Communities: A Short Course for Community Leaders" by James Nelson and Joel Hamilton (20) describes some aspects of the research in a form usable for extension workshops with community leaders. "Economic Growth and Decline of Idaho Towns: An Application of Central Place Theory" is a M.S. thesis by Doyle Peterson which goes more deeply into some aspects of the theory, the research methodology, and the research results of the project.

The authors are indebted to many people who helped in the research and in the writing of this report. Howard Tankersley, formerly with the Idaho Extension Service, now with the Federal Extension Service, Washington, D.C., was instrumental in the early stages of project formulation. Area extension agents Arthur Rathburn and J. Wixom, along with many county agents provided valuable assistance in the collection of survey data. The research benefited from input from Dr. R.W. Schermerhorn, Dr. James Nelson, and Dr. John Carlson and from the assistance of Deon Pettygrove and Jackie Snortum.

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Table of Contents

Page

Chapter I

Perspectives on Problems of Small Towns 1

Population Changes In and Around Idaho Small Towns 1
Problems of Small Towns 1
The Plan of This Report 10

Chapter II

A Spatial Model of Small Towns 11

Cost of Consumer Travel 11
Cost of Providing Goods and Services 11
A Spatial Model 11
The Equilibrium Relationship 14
A Hierarchy of Goods and Services 14
A Spatial Model for Small Town Growth or Decline 19
A Change in Cost of Travel 19
A Change in Technology of Delivery of Goods and Services 19
A Change in Income Levels 19
Interaction Effects in Growth and Decline 21

Chapter III

Population and Access to Goods and Services 22

Estimation of Hierarchies of Goods and Services 22
Empirical Town and Service Hierarchies for Idaho 23
Implications of Hierarchies and Thresholds for Idaho Towns 23
Implications of Changing Thresholds 38
The Service-Population Relationship: A Model for Prediction? 40

Chapter IV

Diseconomies of Small Size and the Cost of Outmigration 42

The Scenario of Decline 42
The Cost of Decline: Diseconomies of Small Size, Excess Capacity 43
Statistical Results for Idaho Counties 45
Model Ia 45
Model Ib 45
Model Ic 45
Model IIa and IIb 47
Conclusions About the Relation of Expenditures to Population and Migration . . 47
Implications for Policy 47

Chapter V

Six Small Towns in Idaho 51
The Six Towns 51
Priest River 51
Cottonwood 51
Riggins 54
Shoshone 55
Oakley 55
Malad 56
The Consumer Questionnaire 56
Consumer Questionnaire Results 57
The Business Questionnaire 92
Some Observations on the Questionnaires 95

Chapter VI

Summary and a Look at the Future 96
A Summary: Technology and Small Towns 96
Small Towns: What Future? 96

Appendix A

Copy of Consumer Questionnaire 98

Appendix B

Copy of Business Questionnaire 104

Appendix C

Listing of Open-Ended Responses 108
Priest River 108
Riggins 111
Oakley 113
Malad 117
Shoshone 120
Cottonwood 123

Literature Cited 126

Chapter I

Perspectives on Problems of Small Towns

Small towns are a landscape feature in all parts of the United States. In heavily metropolitan states small towns contain only a minor portion of the total populace and are often conveniently ignored as quaint remnants of an earlier era, or as quiet bedroom communities offering an escape from city life. In the less densely settled regions of the Great Plains and Intermountain West, a small town may be the only town around so it assumes more importance. Small towns are important to those who live there and to those who depend on them as sources of community and commercial services.

Population Changes In and Around Idaho Small Towns

Of the 44 Idaho counties, 15 had no town with a 1970 population above 2,500 (Exhibit 1.1). An additional 17 counties had largest towns with between 2,500 and 5,000 residents. Thus, 32 counties, comprising over three-quarters of Idaho's land area, had no town as large as 5,000 people. Surprisingly, nearly one-third (31.6%) of Idaho's people lived in these 32 counties in 1970. Obviously, Idaho people have a stake in what happens to these small towns.

What has been happening to small Idaho towns? Of those 32 towns mentioned above (population under 5,000 but the largest in the county), 15 lost and 17 gained population between 1960 and 1970. In fact, 22 of these 32 towns grew at a slower rate than Idaho's 6.9% population growth rate. Between 1960 and 1970 the total population of these 32 towns was almost unchanged, growing from 77,244 in 1960 to 77,843 in 1970 — a 0.8% increase. (This compares to the 41.4% growth rate for largest towns in the 12 larger counties.)

Was the uninspired growth record of these towns simply a product of their being small towns, or was the actual cause more related to the physical, economic, and social environment in which these towns found themselves?

Idaho had 51 small towns with 1970 populations between 1000 and 5000. Exhibit 1.2 shows that 31 of these 51 small towns grew more slowly than the state's 6.9% growth rate. Overall Idaho's 51 small towns matched the state growth rate. However, the 31 slower growing towns actually lost people at a 5.6% rate while the 20 faster growing small towns gained at a 37.9% rate. Smallness itself is not sufficient reason for a town to suffer population loss. Some small towns will grow and others decline. One of the objectives of this study is to identify the causes and consequences of population change as they impact small towns, and to suggest what the future may hold for Idaho's small rural towns.

Problems of Small Towns

As earlier implied, the problems of small towns are intimately tied to population. The economic role of many Idaho small towns is to provide goods and services to a resident population and hinterland engaged in natural resource based activities such as mining, forestry, and agriculture. Exhibit 1.3 shows how the population of Idaho counties has behaved in recent years.[1] We have noted that the total population in the largest towns in the 32 counties with no town above 5000 was almost stable. Exhibit 1.3 shows that the total population in these 32 counties actually declined for the 1960 to 1970 period. The hinterland for these 32 small, but largest, towns was shrinking — a major cause for the problems of these service oriented towns. Computed the same way, the hinterland for largest towns in the 12 more urban counties was also shrinking. However, these larger towns had wider economic bases — manufacturing, regional wholesaling, finance, government, and education — so these larger towns have not felt the squeeze in the same way.

Population change for a region is the result of births, deaths, and net migration. Except for minor variations in births and deaths, migration is the principal factor that can lead to differences in population growth rates. The 32 smaller Idaho counties had a net outmigration of 12.1% in the period between 1960 and 1970 — compared to a net outmigration of 2.9% from the counties with larger towns.

The last few years have given us some evidence of a migration turnaround. Idaho appears to have become a net recipient of migrants rather than a net donor for the 1970 to 1973 period. Before we proclaim this new scenario as the savior for small towns, we should note the continued differential in migration rates. Exhibit 1.3 shows a net inmigration of 2.4% into the 32 counties with small largest towns — compared to an inmigration rate of 5.1% into the 12 more urban counties. Despite the apparent migration turnaround, the small towns are still being largely bypassed by the population growth they need to become efficient sources of goods and services.

Population change affecting small towns is not all which concerns us. In a sense, population change is only a symptom or an indicator of community growth or decline. Our real concern is that community decline can have very real adverse effects on those people who live in and around the town in question. These people rely on the town to provide a range of commercial and public goods and services — doctors, schools, retail stores, law enforcement, farm

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[1] For further discussion of Idaho population patterns see a report by Hamilton (14).

Exhibit 1.1: Population of Largest Town in Each Idaho County, 1960 and 1970

County*	Largest Town in 1970	1960 Largest Town Population	1970 Largest Town Population	% Change 1960-70
Ada	Boise	34,481	74,990	117.5
ADAMS	Council	827	899	8.7
Bannock	Pocatello	28,534	40,036	40.3
BEAR LAKE	Montpelier	3,146	2,604	-17.2
BENEWAH	St. Maries	2,435	2,571	5.6
Bingham	Blackfoot	7,378	8,716	18.1
BLAINE	Ketchum	746	1,454	94.9
BOISE	Horseshoe Bend	480	511	6.5
BONNER	Sandpoint	4,355	4,144	-4.8
Bonneville	Idaho Falls	33,161	35,776	7.9
BOUNDARY	Bonners Ferry	1,921	1,909	-0.6
BUTTE	Arco	1,562	1,244	-20.4
CAMAS	Fairfield	474	336	-29.1
Canyon	Nampa	18,897	20,768	9.9
CARIBOU	Soda Springs	2,424	2,977	22.8
Cassia	Burley	7,508	8,079	7.6
CLARK	Dubois	447	400	10.5
CLEARWATER	Orofino	2,471	3,883	57.1
CUSTER	Challis	732	784	7.1
Elmore	Mountain Home	5,984	6,451	7.8
FRANKLIN	Preston	3,640	3,310	-9.1
FREMONT	St. Anthony	2,700	2,877	6.6
GEM	Emmett	3,769	3,945	4.7
GOODING	Gooding	2,750	2,599	-5.5
IDAHO	Grangeville	3,642	3,636	-0.2
JEFFERSON	Rigby	2,281	2,293	0.5
JEROME	Jerome	4,761	4,183	-12.1
Kootenai	Coeur d'Alene	14,291	16,228	13.6
Latah	Moscow	11,183	14,146	26.5
LEMHI	Salmon	2,944	2,910	-1.2
LEWIS	Kamiah	1,423	1,625	14.2
LINCOLN	Shoshone	1,416	1,233	-12.9
Madison	Rexburg	4,767	8,272	73.5
MINIDOKA	Rupert	4,153	4,563	9.9
Nez Perce	Lewiston	12,691	26,068	105.4
ONEIDA	Malad	2,274	1,848	-18.7
OWYHEE	Homedale	1,381	1,411	2.2
PAYETTE	Payette	4,451	4,521	1.6
POWER	American Falls	2,123	2,769	30.4
SHOSHONE	Kellogg	5,061	3,811	-24.7
TETON	Driggs	824	727	-11.8
Twin Falls	Twin Falls	20,126	21,914	8.9
VALLEY	McCall	1,423	1,758	23.5
WASHINGTON	Weiser	4,208	4,108	-2.4
Total Population				
Counties without town over 5000 in 1970		77,244	77,843	+0.8
Counties with town over 5000 in 1970		199,001	281,444	+41.4
Total for largest town in Counties		276,245	359,287	+30.1

* Counties appearing in all capital letters have no town with over 5000 people in 1970.

Source: 1970 Census of Population

Exhibit 1.2: Population and Growth Rates of Small Idaho Towns 1960-70

City	County	Population 1960	 1970	 % Change 1960 to 70
Cities with 1970 Population of 1000 to 2500				
Aberdeen	Bingham	1,484	1,542	+ 3.9
Ammon	Bonneville	1,882	2,545	+35.2
Arco	Butte	1,562	1,244	-20.4
Ashton	Fremont	1,242	1,187	- 4.4
Bonners Ferry	Boundary	1,921	1,909	- 0.6
Dalton Gardens	Kootenai	1,083	1,559	+44.0
Filer	Twin Falls	1,249	1,173	- 6.1
Fruitland	Payette	804	1,576	+96.0
Garden City	Ada	1,681	2,368	+40.9
Glenns Ferry	Elmore	1,374	1,386	+ 0.9
Hailey	Blaine	1,185	1,425	+20.3
Hayden	Kootenai	901	1,285	+42.6
Heyburn	Minidoka	829	1,637	+97.5
Homedale	Owyhee	1,381	1,411	+ 2.2
Kamiah	Lewis	1,245	1,307	+ 5.0
Ketchum	Blaine	746	1,454	+94.9
Kimberly	Twin Falls	1,298	1,557	+20.0
McCall	Valley	1,423	1,758	+23.5
Malad	Oneida	2,274	1,848	-18.7
Mullan	Shoshone	1,477	1,279	-13.4
Osburn	Shoshone	1,788	2,248	+25.7
Parma	Canyon	1,295	1,228	- 5.2
Pierce	Clearwater	522	1,218	+133.3
Pinehurst	Shoshone	1,432	1,934	+35.1
Post Falls	Kootenai	1,983	2,371	+19.6
Priest River	Bonner	1,749	1,493	-14.6
Rigby	Jefferson	2,281	2,293	+ 0.5
Shoshone	Lincoln	1,416	1,233	-12.9
Wallace	Shoshone	2,412	2,206	- 8.5
Wendell	Gooding	1,232	1,122	- 8.9
TOTAL:		43,147	48,796	+13.1
Cities with 1970 Population of 2500 to 5000				
American Falls	Power	2,123	2,769	+30.4
Buhl	T. F. & Cassia	3,059	2,975	- 2.7
Chubbuck	Bannock	1,590	2,924	+83.9
Emmett	Gem	3,769	3,945	+ 4.7
Gooding	Gooding	2,750	2,599	- 5.5
Grangeville	Idaho	3,642	3,636	- 0.2
Jerome	Jerome	4,761	4,183	-12.1
Kellogg	Shoshone	5,061	3,811	-24.7
Meridian	Ada	2,081	2,616	+25.7
Montpelier	Bear Lake	3,146	2,604	-17.2
Orofino	Clearwater	2,471	3,883	+57.1
Payette	Payette	4,451	4,521	+ 1.6
Preston	Franklin	3,640	3,310	- 9.1
Rupert	Minidoka	4,153	4,563	+ 9.9
St. Anthony	Fremont	2,700	2,877	+ 6.6
St. Maries	Benewah	2,435	2,571	+ 5.6
Salmon	Lemhi	2,944	2,910	- 1.2
Sandpoint	Bonner	4,355	4,144	- 4.8
Shelly	Bingham	2,612	2,614	+ 0.1
Soda Springs	Caribou	2,424	2,977	+22.8
Weiser	Washington	4,208	4,108	- 2.4
TOTAL:		68,375	70,540	+ 3.2
Total of Both Size Classes:		111,522	119,336	+ 7.0

Source: 1970 Census of Population

Exhibit 1.3: Population and Migration by Idaho Counties, 1960, 1970 and 1973

County *	1960 Population	1970 Population	% Change 1960-70	% Net Migration 1960-70	1973 Population	% Change 1970-73	% Net Migration 1970-73
Ada	93,460	112,230	20.1	+ 7.8	126,800	13.0	9.4
ADAMS	2,978	2,877	- 3.4	-15.6	3,200	11.8	9.0
Bannock	49,342	52,200	5.8	-12.1	54,700	4.8	2
BEAR LAKE	7,148	5,801	-18.8	-28.0	5,800	-0.7	- 2.8
BENEWAH	6,036	6,230	3.2	- 5.7	6,600	6.6	3.7
Bingham	28,218	29,167	3.4	-15.0	30,700	5.1	0.1
BLAINE	4,598	5,749	25.0	+15.8	6,800	17.8	15.4
BOISE	1,646	1,763	7.1	+ 1.4	2,000	12.7	8.6
BONNER	15,587	15,560	- 0.2	- 5.0	17,400	12.0	10.3
Bonneville	46,906	52,457	11.2	-10.0	54,000	3.0	- 3.0
BOUNDARY	5,809	5,484	- 5.6	12.0	6,100	11.3	9.4
BUTTE	3,498	2,925	-16.4	-31.2	3,000	3.3	- 0.6
CAMAS	917	728	-20.6	-24.6	700	1.1	- 2.5
Canyon	57,662	61,288	6.3	- 4.0	68,700	12.2	8.6
CARIBOU	5,976	6,534	9.3	- 8.7	6,200	-5.7	- 9.5
Cassia	16,121	17,017	5.6	-13.0	17,900	5.2	0.2
CLARK	915	741	-19.0	-28.1	700	-2.8	- 5.8
CLEARWATER	8,548	10,871	27.2	+12.8	10,100	-7.2	-10.0
CUSTER	2,996	2,967	- 1.0	- 8.6	3,000	0.9	- 1.0
Elmore	16,719	17,479	4.5	-21.7	19,400	10.9	3.9
FRANKLIN	8,457	7,373	-12.8	-25.9	7,400	0.5	- 2.7
FREMONT	8,679	8,710	0.4	-14.3	9,400	8.5	4.3
GEM	9,127	9,387	2.8	- 6.2	10,000	6.3	3.5
GOODING	9,544	8,645	- 9.4	-13.2	9,400	8.9	7.3
IDAHO	13,542	12,891	- 4.8	-17.8	13,000	1.0	- 0.9
JEFFERSON	11,672	11,740	- 0.5	-17.6	12,100	2.8	- 1.8
JEROME	11,712	10,253	-12.5	-22.0	11,900	15.6	12.1
Kootenai	29,556	35,332	19.5	+12.0	41,300	16.9	14.7
Latah	21,170	24,898	17.6	+ 4.5	27,000	8.6	4.9
LEMHI	5,816	5,566	- 4.3	-14.5	6,000	7.9	6.4
LEWIS	4,423	3,867	-12.6	-18.9	4,100	5.3	3.0
LINCOLN	3,686	3,057	-17.1	-21.6	3,200	3.4	0.9
Madison	9,417	13,452	42.8	+24.8	15,900	18.2	12.6
MINIDOKA	14,394	15,731	9.3	- 9.5	17,700	12.7	7.6
Nez Perce	27,066	30,376	12.2	+ 1.8	30,700	0.9	- 1.2
ONEIDA	3,603	2,864	-20.5	-27.2	2,700	-4.7	- 6.8
OWYHEE	6,375	6,422	0.7	-10.9	7,100	10.5	6.7
PAYETTE	12,363	12,401	0.3	- 6.2	13,800	11.1	9.1
POWER	4,111	4,864	18.3	+ 3.8	4,800	-1.0	- 4.7
SHOSHONE	20,876	19,718	- 5.5	-17.3	18,400	-6.8	- 9.7
TETON	2,639	2,351	-10.9	-23.8	2,500	7.3	3.9
Twin Falls	41,842	41,807	- 0.1	-10.0	45,300	8.3	5.2
VALLEY	3,663	3,609	- 1.5	-10.5	4,000	11.3	1.3
WASHINGTON	8,378	7,633	- 8.9	-15.1	8,100	6.6	4.5
Total Population							
Counties without town over 5000 in 1970	229,712	225,316	- 1.9	-12.1	239,200	5.3	2.4
Counties with town over 5000 in 1970	437,479	487,703	11.5	- 2.9	532,400	9.2	5.1
Idaho	667,191	713,019	6.9	- 6.1	771,600	8.2	4.2

* Counties appearing in all capital letters have no town with over 5000 people in 1970.

Source: 1970 Census of Population, 1973 Current Population Estimates production inputs, etc. When a community declines, the people who depended on it must do without certain goods, accept a lower quality of service, or travel to another town to be served.

Statistics on actual sales of goods and services are hard to get in sufficient detail to reveal much of what is going on in small Idaho towns. However, the Bureau of the Census, in its "County Business Patterns" series, shows statistics on numbers of firms and numbers of employees by business type and by county. The data are derived from Social Security sources. For our purposes here, the most crucial thing to keep in mind is that all self-employed workers are excluded.

Exhibit 1.4 shows numbers of retail business employees (not self-employed) and numbers of retail business firms hiring these workers. The table covers the following 2 and 3 digit SIC codes:

- 52 Building material
- 53 General merchandise
- 54 Food stores
- 55 Auto dealers and service stations
- 56 Apparel and accessories
- 57 Furniture and home furnishings
- 58 Eating and drinking places
- 59 Miscellaneous retail stores
  - 595 Sporting goods
  - 596 Farm and garden stores

The table indicates that the 32 small town Idaho counties had a fairly steady 34% of the retail business firms reporting covered employees in 1962 through 1972. Remembering that these counties had only 32% of the population, and that firms with only the self-employed owner are excluded from this table, apparently more business firms per capita are present in small town areas than in more urban areas.

Numbers of firms tell only a small part of the picture, however. The small town firms tend to be smaller ones, so that only about 24% of the covered retail employees are located in the 32 small town counties. The number of employees is actually growing faster in more urban counties. We see this in spite of the conversion of many small town businesses from self-employing small firms to a payroll meeting small corporations.

Number of employees may be a fair proxy for sales volume. However, if biased, they are toward more sales per employee in the more urban counties. These counties have the supermarkets, the high volume department stores, and the discount houses. Exhibit 1.4 shows very clearly that retail sales are concentrated very heavily in the 12 more urban Idaho counties, while the 32 small town counties must make do with a dwindling percentage share. In towns where retail sales are stagnant or declining, the effect is of course devastating to the local business community. The effect on the consumer in such a town is to reduce his range of consumption options, or to force him to go elsewhere to make his purchases.

Exhibit 1.5 is a compilation of the County Business Patterns data for commercial services. The following SIC codes are considered:

- 70 Hotels, motels, and other lodging places
- 72 Personal services
  - 721 Laundries
  - 722 Photo studios
  - 723 Beauty shops
  - 724 Barber shops
  - 725 Shoe repair
  - 726 Funeral service
- 73 Miscellaneous business services
  - 731 Advertising
  - 732 Credit reporting
  - 734 Building services
- 75 Auto repair, services, garages
- 76 Miscellaneous repair services
- 78 Motion pictures
- 79 Amusement and recreation services
- 80 Medical and other health services
- 81 Legal services
- 82 Educational services
  - 821 Elementary and secondary schools
  - 822 Colleges and universities
  - 824 Correspondence and vocational schools
- 86 Nonprofit membership organizations

The small town counties are underrepresented in both number of firms and number of covered employees relative to their population. While the small town counties have less service employed workers per capita, this figure is improving. The service employee growth rate is much higher in the 32 small town counties (90.9% vs. 26.2% for 1962-67 and 81.5% vs. 33.9% for 1967-72). Opportunities in the small town areas are attracting service firms into these areas — but still leaving these areas deficient in service availability. Another factor in the growing small town service component may be service for the traveler and the recreation seeker. Recreation related services may be a feasible option for some small towns.

Another type of business class found in small towns includes finance, insurance and real estate. The component SIC codes which are included in Exhibit 1.6 are:

- 60 Banking
- 61 Other credit agencies
- 62 Security and commodity brokers
- 63 Insurance carriers
- 64 Insurance agents and brokers
- 65 Real estate
  - 651 Real estate operators
  - 653 Agents, brokers, and managers
  - 654 Title and abstract companies
  - 655 Subdividers and developers
  - 656 Operative builders

The finance, insurance and real estate sector is even more severely underrepresented in the 32 small town counties. Perhaps this should not be surprising. The employment figures for this sector contain many workers who perform a sort of "wholesaling" function — the central office staffs of the banks and insurance companies are located in the larger towns while only a skeleton sales or operative staff is actually located at the branches in the small towns.

Our conclusion from the "County Business Patterns" data is that the 32 small town counties are markedly underrepresented in each of the consumer oriented business classes — retail trade, commercial services, and finance, insurance, and real estate. While the data were for firm numbers and employment, sales figures might show even more inequity.

Exhibit 1.4: Retail Trade Statistics for Idaho Counties, 1962, 1967, and 1972

	No. of Units Reporting Covered Employees			No. of Covered Employees		
County**	1962	1967	1972	1962	1967	1972
Ada	690	631	669	5665	6024	8542
ADAMS	18	20	20	62	69	58
Bannock	338	318	309	2486	2941	3245
BEAR LAKE	61	55	51	228	241	249
BENEWAH	43	38	46	147	166	199
Bingham	157	162	158	954	966	1015
BLAINE	51	59	65	243	380	710
BOISE	19	22	17	135	269	180
BONNER	99	99	108	401	582	752
Bonneville	300	310	325	2603	3300	3845
BOUNDARY	38	34	36	179	169	197
BUTTE	28	28	28	97	111	106
CAMAS	5	4	5	7	7	9
Canyon	336	350	350	2297	2821	3840
CARIBOU	42	49	47	173	339	268
Cassia	158	165	145	1151	961	1124
CLARK	4	9	6	11	26	28
CLEARWATER	62	64	66	187	333	415
CUSTER	20	20	20	61	141	74
Elmore	83	89	77	601	479	574
FRANKLIN	68	66	59	305	294	348
FREMONT	66	58	62	514	293	323
GEM	56	60	62	318	345	413
GOODING	65	66	62	263	363	435
IDAHO	89	76	87	387	424	545
JEFFERSON	76	69	66	285	318	425
JEROME	78	66	62	402	373	387
Kootenai	208	206	230	1073	1480	1866
Latah	153	157	157	861	1123	1289
LEMHI	60	59	56	235	211	290
LEWIS	39	41	35	119	151	160
LINCOLN	24	18	24	78	56	78
Madison	78	73	78	350	411	625
MINIDOKA	95	100	91	400	525	659
Nez Perce	237	258	255	1697	2113	2111
ONEIDA	32	28	27	103	88	146
OWYHEE	40	42	39	143	166	216
PAYETTE	74	85	66	341	413	397
POWER	32	31	34	129	190	233
SHOSHONE	139	144	132	662	699	717
TETON	15	22	23	37	60	116
Twin Falls	328	342	311	2035	2828	3071
VALLEY	40	35	38	140	108	192
WASHINGTON	72	67	68	290	332	414
Total Population						
Counties without town over 5000 in 1970						
Number	1650	1634	1608	7082	8242	9739
% of State*	34.9	34.4	34.0	24.4	24.3	23.7
Counties with town over 5000 in 1970						
Number	3066	3061	3064	21,773	25,447	31,147
% of State*	64.8	64.4	64.7	75.1	74.9	75.7
Idaho	4734	4748	4735	28,978	33,970	41,135

*Percentage may not add to 100% because of a small number of firms not tied to a specific location--is operating state-wide--which are excluded from the county figures.

**Counties appearing in all capital letters have no town with over 5000 people in 1970.

Source: 1967, 1972 County Business Patterns

Exhibit 1.5: Commercial Service Statistics for Idaho Counties, 1962, 1967, and 1972.

County**	No. of Units Reporting Covered Employees			No. of Covered Employees		
	1962	1967	1972	1962	1967	1972
Ada	660	697	832	3806	4871	7473
ADAMS	10	10	11	82	69	74
Bannock	264	289	308	1330	1981	2401
BEAR LAKE	28	34	39	57	103	102
BENEWAH	21	24	24	52	63	130
Bingham	90	81	85	284	319	430
BLAINE	26	33	54	59	D	1259
BOISE	14	20	17	115	243	186
BONNER	65	64	70	271	315	461
Bonneville	226	274	309	2266	2539	2619
BOUNDARY	20	19	21	45	46	73
BUTTE	15	20	21	86	D	1895
CAMAS	1	1	1	D	D	D
Canyon	280	300	321	1666	2289	3132
CARIBOU	22	33	30	47	302	160
Cassia	80	94	95	372	453	625
CLARK	0	2	3	0	D	4
CLEARWATER	31	31	35	89	104	150
CUSTER	10	10	10	18	D	20
Elmore	52	51	55	360	173	211
FRANKLIN	35	27	29	68	58	76
FREMONT	35	40	44	115	166	174
GEM	29	33	35	82	132	270
GOODING	40	43	53	115	127	233
IDAHO	49	62	61	153	262	259
JEFFERSON	34	34	38	109	81	178
JEROME	35	41	50	148	220	242
Kootenai	152	164	203	632	675	1110
Latah	101	108	122	481	683	760
LEMHI	31	28	29	94	84	107
LEWIS	17	17	17	30	41	46
LINCOLN	14	12	6	58	50	67
Madison	37	50	54	205	399	946
MINIDOKA	50	56	60	210	331	313
Nez Perce	200	223	221	1120	1466	1466
ONEIDA	17	15	19	42	29	60
OWYHEE	13	16	14	35	55	60
PAYETTE	40	40	46	122	147	193
POWER	18	21	25	35	78	82
SHOSHONE	91	87	83	418	445	428
TETON	4	6	9	19	21	31
Twin Falls	244	251	275	1054	1279	1766
VALLEY	14	22	27	68	133	217
WASHINGTON	41	38	43	118	86	119
Total Population						
Counties without town over 5000 in 1970						
Number	872	939	1034	2964	5657	7670
% of State*	26.6	26.4	26.1	17.7	24.6	24.9
Counties with town over 5000 in 1970						
Number	2386	2582	2880	13,576	17,127	22,939
% of State*	72.9	72.5	72.5	81.0	74.5	74.4
Idaho	3273	3560	3975	16,766	22,995	30,844

*Percentage may not add to 100% because of a small number of firms not tied to a specific location--is operating state-wide--which are excluded from the county figures.

**Counties appearing in all capital letters have no town with over 5000 people in 1970.

Source: 1967, 1972 County Business Patterns

Exhibit 1.6: Finance, Insurance and Real Estate Statistics for Idaho Counties, 1962, 1967, and 1972.

County**	No. of Units Reporting Covered Employees 1962	1967	1972	No. of Covered Employees 1962	1967	1972
Ada	229	258	271	2016	2776	3680
ADAMS	2	3	2	D	15	D
Bannock	93	105	122	790	833	1141
BEAR LAKE	2	6	4	D	38	50
BENEWAH	5	7	7	22	27	26
Bingham	20	23	22	95	104	117
BLAINE	6	7	18	33	43	128
BOISE	5	8	8	32	33	51
BONNER	17	17	22	66	74	99
Bonneville	71	91	96	413	521	519
BOUNDARY	5	5	7	23	D	19
BUTTE	1	2	1	D	D	D
CAMAS	3	0	0	4	0	0
Canyon	76	79	93	383	476	596
CARIBOU	2	5	6	D	26	34
Cassia	23	24	23	97	117	155
CLARK	1	1	1	D	D	D
CLEARWATER	7	10	11	20	41	44
CUSTER	4	4	5	17	17	20
Elmore	10	16	23	79	97	146
FRANKLIN	8	8	8	30	36	41
FREMONT	4	5	5	18	12	D
GEM	6	7	10	29	33	52
GOODING	10	9	9	47	45	42
IDAHO	17	17	15	67	79	99
JEFFERSON	5	4	5	25	44	48
JEROME	10	15	15	53	48	D
Kootenai	36	48	61	197	323	332
Latah	23	32	34	113	172	195
LEMHI	5	4	5	44	D	24
LEWIS	5	9	10	24	31	38
LINCOLN	2	1	4	D	D	15
Madison	11	13	11	69	85	120
MINIDOKA	10	14	16	50	80	82
Nez Perce	55	62	64	250	310	338
ONEIDA	3	3	3	19	D	D
OWYHEE	2	4	3	D	D	D
PAYETTE	10	14	17	30	D	52
POWER	4	6	5	13	21	27
SHOSHONE	30	29	24	106	126	139
TETON	0	0	0	0	0	0
Twin Falls	81	89	80	433	636	570
VALLEY	4	5	8	16	30	55
WASHINGTON	9	12	11	40	51	57
Total Population						
Counties without town over 5000 in 1970						
Number	201	241	201	1120	1118	1601
% of State*	20.9	21.6	17.4	18.5	14.4	16.8
Counties with town over 5000 in 1970						
Number	728	840	900	4935	6450	7909
% of State*	75.8	83.8	77.9	81.5	82.9	83.2
Idaho	961	1117	1156	6055	7780	9510

*Percentage may not add to 100% because of a small number of firms not tied to a specific location--is operating state-wide--which are excluded from the county figures.

**Counties appearing in all capital letters have no town with over 5000 people in 1970.

Source: 1967, 1972 County Business Patterns

Exhibit 1.7: Direct General Expenditure by Local Governments in Idaho Counties, 1967

County*	Total Expenditure 1967 (thousand dollars)	Estimated Population 1966 (number)	Per Capita Expenditure (dollars)
Ada	20,380	99,200	205.44
ADAMS	777	3,000	259.06
Bannock	12,825	49,800	257.53
BEAR LAKE	1,560	6,400	243.70
BENEWAH	1,441	6,500	221.63
Bingham	6,399	29,600	216.19
BLAINE	1,266	5,400	234.43
BOISE	550	1,500	366.52
BONNER	3,316	15,100	219.62
Bonneville	12,117	51,700	234.36
BOUNDARY	1,711	5,200	329.04
BUTTE	960	3,300	291.03
CAMAS	345	700	492.91
Canyon	12,243	60,400	202.70
CARIBOU	2,090	7,300	286.25
Cassia	4,025	18,000	223.64
CLARK	365	600	608.99
CLEARWATER	2,262	9,000	251.33
CUSTER	1,167	2,600	448.71
Elmore	3,754	17,800	210.91
FRANKLIN	2,039	8,000	254.89
FREMONT	1,519	9,400	161.59
GEM	1,968	9,100	216.24
GOODING	2,377	9,200	258.39
IDAHO	3,034	13,000	233.38
JEFFERSON	2,608	11,700	222.87
JEROME	2,075	11,400	182.00
Kootenai	6,506	31,500	206.54
Latah	4,084	23,700	172.33
LEMHI	1,384	5,600	247.18
LEWIS	1,142	4,100	278.43
LINCOLN	884	3,000	294.77
Madison	2,821	10,200	276.60
MINIDOKA	4,625	17,100	270.46
Nez Perce	6,338	30,400	208.49
ONEIDA	903	3,100	291.39
OWYHEE	1,878	6,300	298.04
PAYETTE	2,262	12,500	180.97
POWER	1,430	4,900	291.80
SHOSHONE	5,035	20,200	249.28
TETON	773	3,100	249.32
Twin Falls	12,296	44,100	278.82
VALLEY	1,302	3,700	351.81
WASHINGTON	3,199	8,700	367.76
Total Population			
Counties without town over 5000 in 1970	58,247	230,700	252.48
Counties with town over 5000 in 1970	103,788	466,400	222.53
Idaho	162,035	697,100	232.44

*Counties appearing in all capital letters have no town with over 5000 people in 1970.

Source: 1967 Census of Governments

Many of the services consumed by residents of a small town community are not purchased, but are provided by the community and financed from local revenue sources, such as taxes. Here the small communities seem to have a distinct disadvantage. The 32 counties with no town larger than 5,000 had an average expenditure by local units of government within the county of $252.48 per person in 1967 (Exhibit 1.7). In contrast the other counties containing larger cities had local government expenditures of only $222.53 per person. No one is likely to argue very convincingly that these smaller counties receive superior services and thus should pay more, or that they are richer and should pay more. Providing community services to residents of low density rural and small town areas appears to cost considerably more.

The Plan of This Report

This report focuses on small towns and small town businesses. An attempt is made to isolate and examine some of the economic forces which pressure small town people and small town merchants — pressures which ultimately shape and will reshape the small towns in areas like Idaho.

Chapter 2 lays the groundwork for the study, showing in rather abbreviated fashion some of the theoretical economic relationships which determine the status of small towns, and small town businesses.

Chapter 3 examines empirical relationships which determine what goods and services are available in which kinds of towns.

Chapter 4 concentrates on the public sectors, showing how factors such as size of community and growth or decline affect the cost of providing community services.

The situation in a sample of small Idaho communities is addressed in chapter 5. The results of a survey covering six sample towns are shown.

Chapter 6 attempts a synthesis of these results, to reach some conclusions about the state of small towns in Idaho and their prospects for the future.

Chapter II

A Spatial Model of Small Towns

This chapter looks at regional economic theory which may be of some help in understanding the problems of small towns. The extensive literature of location theory and regional economics provides a usable economic framework which will illuminate these problems. The thesis by Doyle Peterson [21] provides a more extensive discussion and review of the related research literature.

Cost of Consumer Travel

In a sense, this entire report can be said to focus on distance. What distinguishes small towns and rural areas from other regions are the distances between the people themselves, and the distances between the people and their sources of goods and services. A consumer in Boise may go less than half a mile to shop at a supermarket, while a consumer in Riggins must drive many miles to find a supermarket of similar size.

Naturally, the cost (however measured) of travel to obtain goods or services should increase as distance (however measured) of travel increases (Exhibit 2.1). Part of the cost of travel is purely economic — the cost of fuel, the cost of wear and depreciation on the vehicle, and even the cost of travel time expressed as opportunity cost of lost wages when the traveler might have been working instead. Another part of travel cost is more difficult to define — the psychic cost. Included here is the simple fact that to sit in a car for long periods is disagreeable. Likewise to waste time in travel irrespective of whether the time has a monetary opportunity cost may be disagreeable. Perhaps some folks would prefer to spend a Saturday afternoon fishing rather than on a shopping trip for groceries. The conceptual problem arises in that travel may be viewed positively by certain people and in certain situations. Going to town to buy things may be fun and getting there may be fun. Shopping may be a valued social affair. Still, in most cases, we can live with the rule of less distance, less cost.

Cost of Providing Goods and Services

Another important concept in this study is the cost of making goods and services available for consumption. A grocer faces the cost of goods obtained from some distant wholesale center. He pays to transport the groceries from the wholesale center to his store and to have the items stocked on his shelves. Also, he faces a charge for maintaining the store building and furnishings, a charge for labor, a charge for advertising, and a necessary profit margin sufficient to induce the grocer to keep up the process. The cost items may be somewhat different, but the principal is essentially the same for the provision of medical services, the operation of a beauty shop, the operation of a service station, or if we stretch things a bit, the running of a school system.

To provide these goods or services costs something — and generally the cost per unit of the item declines as the number of units provided increases. The principle of economies of size is both logical and reasonably well documented in the economics literature. The relationship might look something like that shown in Exhibit 2.2. A gas station selling 1000 gallons per day can spread his overhead costs over more gallons than a station that sells only 500, and the larger station may even get a quantity discount from his supplier and a break on transportation costs. The cost per unit of groceries is quite high if only a few groceries are sold, and declines as volume of business grows. A doctor set up to handle only a few patients would have higher costs per patient if he tried to maintain an income level anywhere near that of a doctor with a higher patient load.

The shape of this economies of size relationship depends, of course, on the item in question. Groceries might possibly be sold at a fairly reasonable cost by a quite small store serving only a few people. In contrast, the per unit cost to these same few people obtaining the services of a local doctor could be exorbitantly high.

A Spatial Model

These two principles — that greater distance means higher cost of travel and that larger size of operation means lower cost of the item — allow the construction of a spatial model for explaining where people go to get goods and services.

Suppose we have two businesses A and B of the size indicated in Exhibit 2.3. The larger firm B — let's assume it is a grocery store — has a lower per unit cost than the smaller competitor, supermarket A. Hence, since reasonable profits are included as an item of cost, B can sell groceries cheaper than A.

The spatial model is simplest for an extremely simple world, but we can make the model more realistic later on. Suppose the two supermarkets are located in towns 20 miles apart, connected by a perfectly straight road, with only farmland to either side, as illustrated in Exhibit 2.4. Since we know the size of firms A and B, we can represent the cost of groceries purchased at either by vertical bars, the height of the bars representing the prices charged by each store, as in Exhibit 2.5. Now, for a consumer living somewhere on the road between the town containing A and the town containing B, the cost of getting groceries in either town is higher than if he lived

Exhibit 2.1

Hypothetical Relation Between Cost of Travel and Distance Traveled

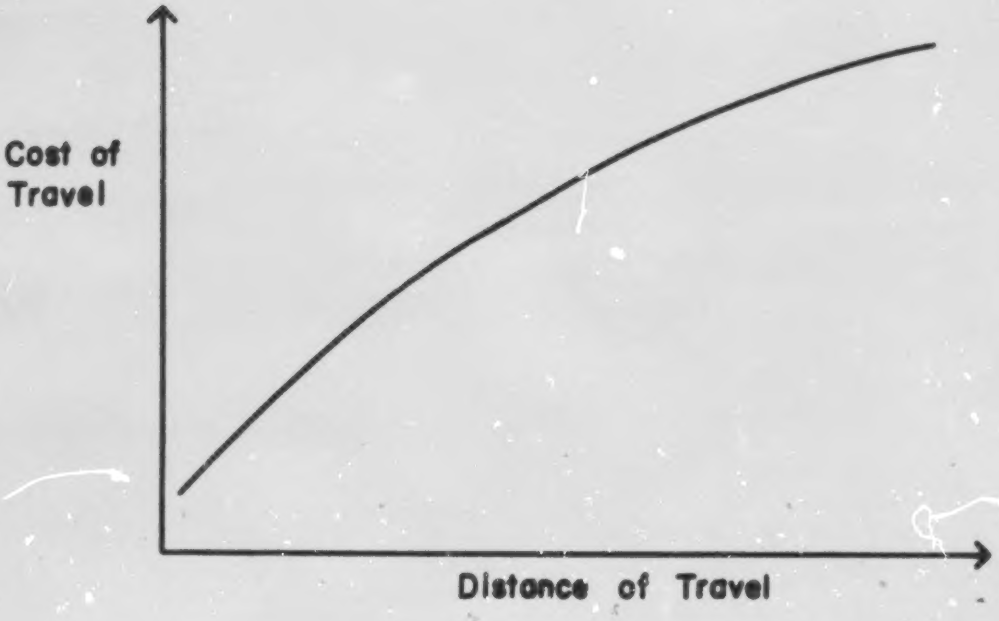


Exhibit 2.2

Hypothetical Economies of Size Relation for Providing an Item

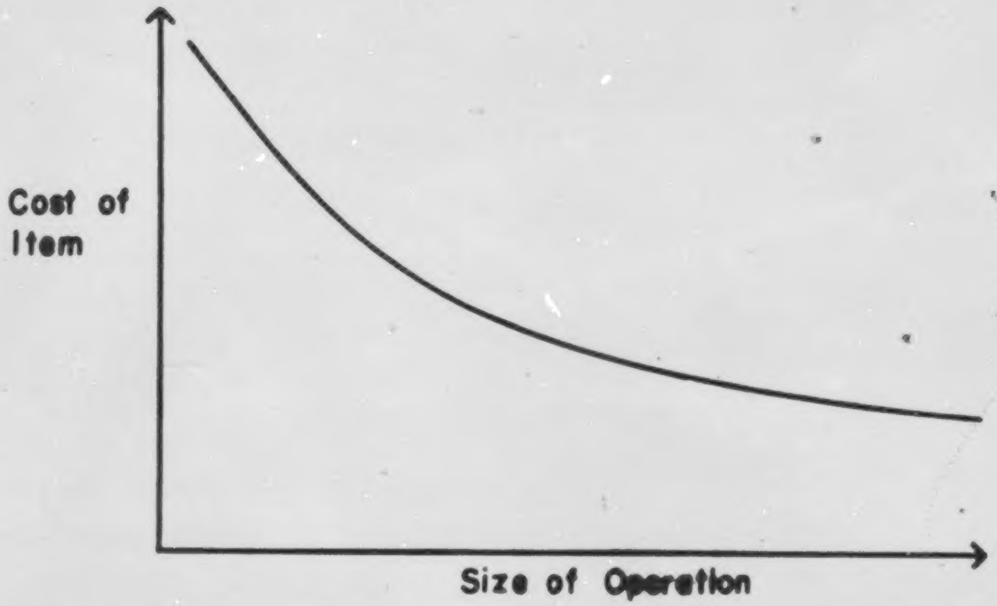


Exhibit 2.3

Size and Costs for Two Hypothetical Firms

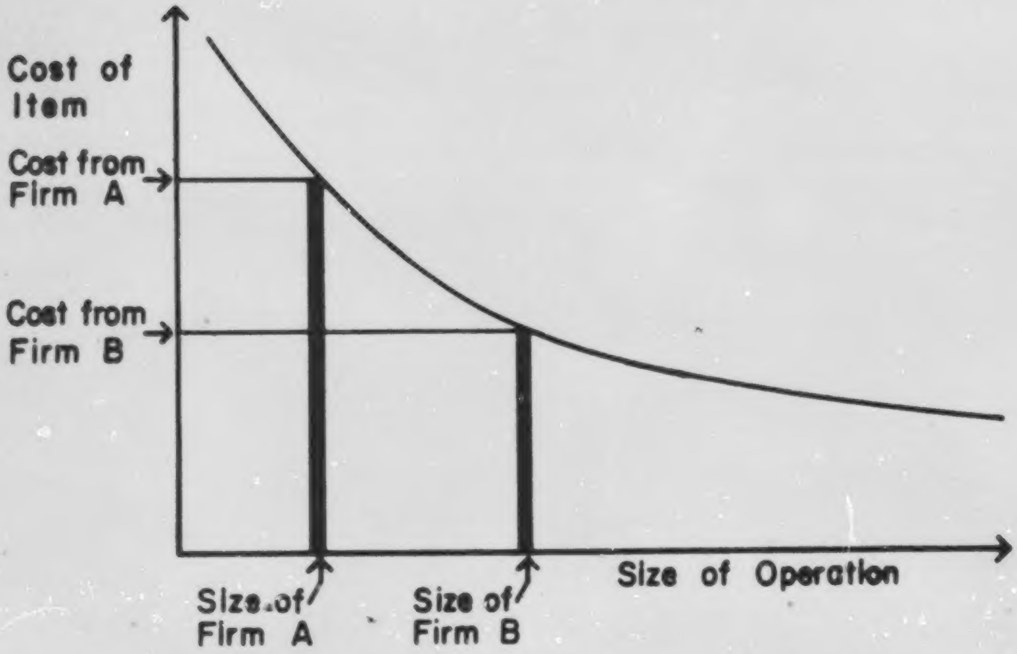
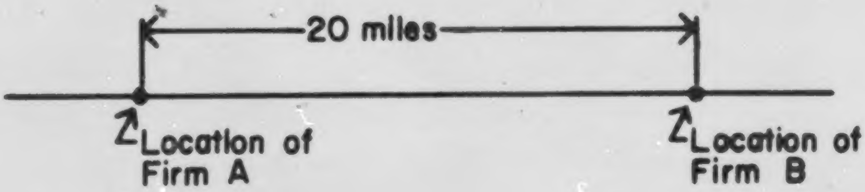


Exhibit 2.4

Geographic Location of Two Firms in Simplified Straight Line Space


20 miles
Location of Firm A
Location of Firm B

in town — higher by the cost of travel. Exhibit 2.6 shows that if an individual lives about halfway between A and B, then his cost of buying groceries at the smaller size supermarket A would be cost C_A. If he were to shop in the larger supermarket B, he would face relatively lower cost C_B. The usual measures of economic rationality dictate that the individual should buy his groceries at B. Another consumer whose location on the road corresponds to the intersection of these two cost curves would be indifferent between driving the shorter distance to the high cost source and driving the longer distance to the low cost source.

Getting away from the straight line, one road community used in these examples complicates things a bit. The easiest way to represent costs in a more general example is as isocost contour lines — very much like the contour lines on a topographic map, or the isobars on a weather map. Exhibit 2.7 represents this more general situation for the same two supermarkets A and B. The hypothetical consumer H at the halfway point is in the market area for supermarket B. A consumer living at the indifference point I is at the interface between the market area for A and the market area for B.

Exhibit 2.7 also allows a look at the behavior of consumers who live off the straight connecting road, such as J and K. If J and K are "economically rational" and if connecting roads would take them more or less directly into either city, then J should shop for groceries at A and K should shop for groceries at B.

We conclude then that a boundary is between the market areas for supermarkets A and B — such that all individuals on one side of the boundary would buy from A, and all individuals on the other side would buy from B.

In the real world, we know that market areas are not so neatly defined. We know that consumer K pays regular Thursday night visits to his mother who lives two blocks from supermarket A — so K shops on the wrong side of the boundary from what the spatial model predicts. A neighbor, consumer L, really hates to drive. L's psychic cost of travel pushes his cost contour lines up faster than shown in Exhibit 2.7. Because he hates to travel he is, as far as he is concerned, in the market area of the nearby supermarket A. Thus, even for a given commodity and stable communities, the market area boundaries are fuzzy — where people go to buy things depends on social interrelationships, habits, attitudes about towns, attitudes about stores, normal size of purchase and attitudes about travel. Where people buy groceries may depend on where they also travel to go to work, to do some business at the county courthouse, to visit a mother, to buy some nails, to look over the new cars, or to see a movie. The market area boundary is more of a probability statement — that people on one side are more likely to shop at A, while on the average people on the other side are more likely to shop at B.

The Equilibrium Relationship

We have been saying that a firm's sales volume determines the prices it must charge to cover costs, which in turn determines the firm's market area and sales volume. If the firm's market area contains many customers, which would probably be true if the town itself is large and if the hinterland is densely populated, then the firm is probably a large one, with lower prices. If, however, the town is small and the hinterland sparsely populated, then the firm may be small and charge high prices to cover costs. If the market is too small, the town may not be able to support any firm to handle the item and provision of that item may be taken over by another firm from a nearby town. This simple theory thus postulates a static equilibrium between firms at various locations in the area. Moreover, we expect to find that firm size and market area size are related (although perhaps imperfectly) to community size.

A Hierarchy of Goods and Services

We have assumed that economies of size are for the provision of most goods and services. Different items may have different economies of size relationships. Exhibit 2.8 presents economies of size curves for two different commodities. Good 1 is assumed to be an item which has only moderate economies of size, perhaps a grocery store is still a good example. Economies of size are assumed to be sharper for a firm selling good 2. A furniture store can serve as an example of this second case. What we have then, is a case where small grocery stores are moderately less efficient than larger grocery stores, but small furniture stores are assumed to be at a severe competitive disadvantage relative to larger furniture stores. Imagine five towns of different sizes, the size of the town indicated by the position along the size axis on Exhibit 2.8. Our statement that firm size is at least approximately related to town size implies that the position along the size axis in Exhibit 2.8 also represents a first approximation to size of firm. The prices which grocery stores and furniture stores of these relative sizes would have to charge to cover costs are shown on the vertical axis.

Suppose the five towns are positioned as shown in Exhibit 2.9. The market area boundaries are shown for good 1, groceries, and good 2, furniture. For groceries, with moderate economies of size, the largest town, A, has the largest market area. Towns B and C, which are somewhat smaller, control correspondingly smaller market areas. Town D is so small that only customers in the immediate area judge that shopping at D is their least cost alternative. E is a tiny village and any grocery store located at E would have to charge prices so high that no one would buy there — so E has no grocery store.

The furniture store located at A is large enough and can offer low enough prices to dominate the region. Because stores at B and C are smaller, their prices are quite a bit higher, and their market areas smaller. Note that both D and E are too small and inefficient to be competitive in the furniture business. Under the conditions assumed here, some people actually drive through B or C to get to A — their rationale: as long as they're on the road anyway, they might as well drive on a little bit further to take advantage of the lower prices at A.

Two related conclusions develop from the graphic examples: the steeper the economies of size in provision of an item, the more a small number of firms operating out of larger towns will tend to dominate

Exhibit 2.5

Cost of an Item at Each of Two Firms in Simplified Straight Line Space

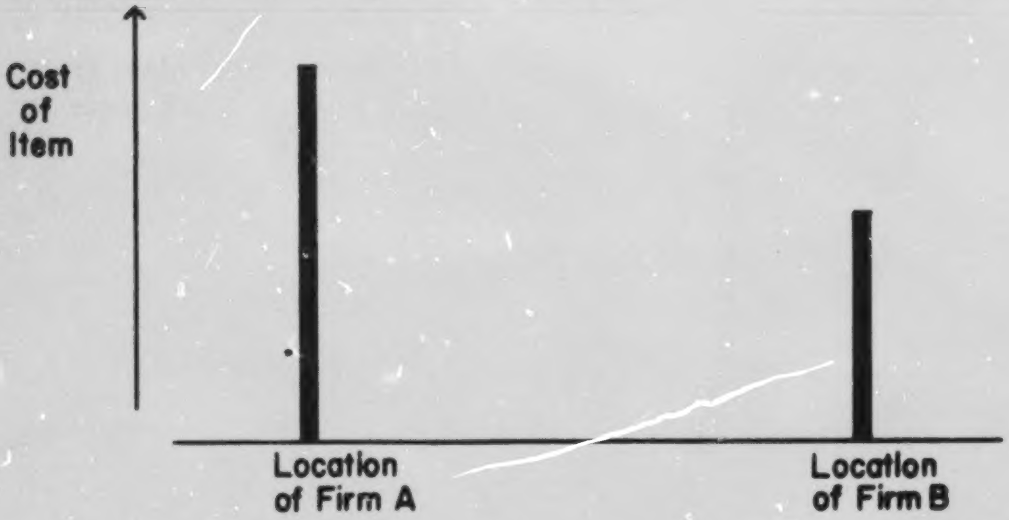


Exhibit 2.6

Added Travel Cost and Indifference Points for Consumers in Simplified Straight Line Space

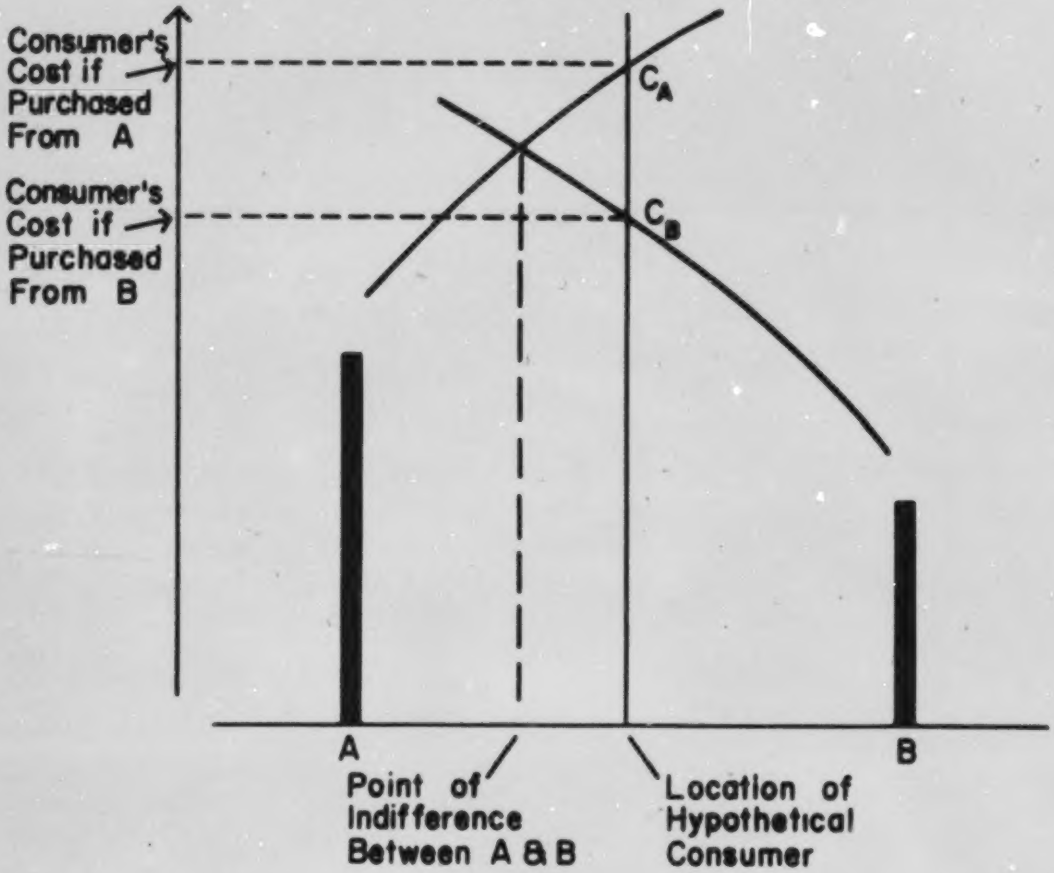

Consumer's Cost if Purchased From A
Consumer's Cost if Purchased From B
C_A
C_B
A
B
Point of Indifference Between A & B
Location of Hypothetical Consumer

Exhibit 2.7

Isocost Contour Lines of Purchase Price Plus Travel Cost, and Market Area Boundary for Consumers in Two Dimension Space

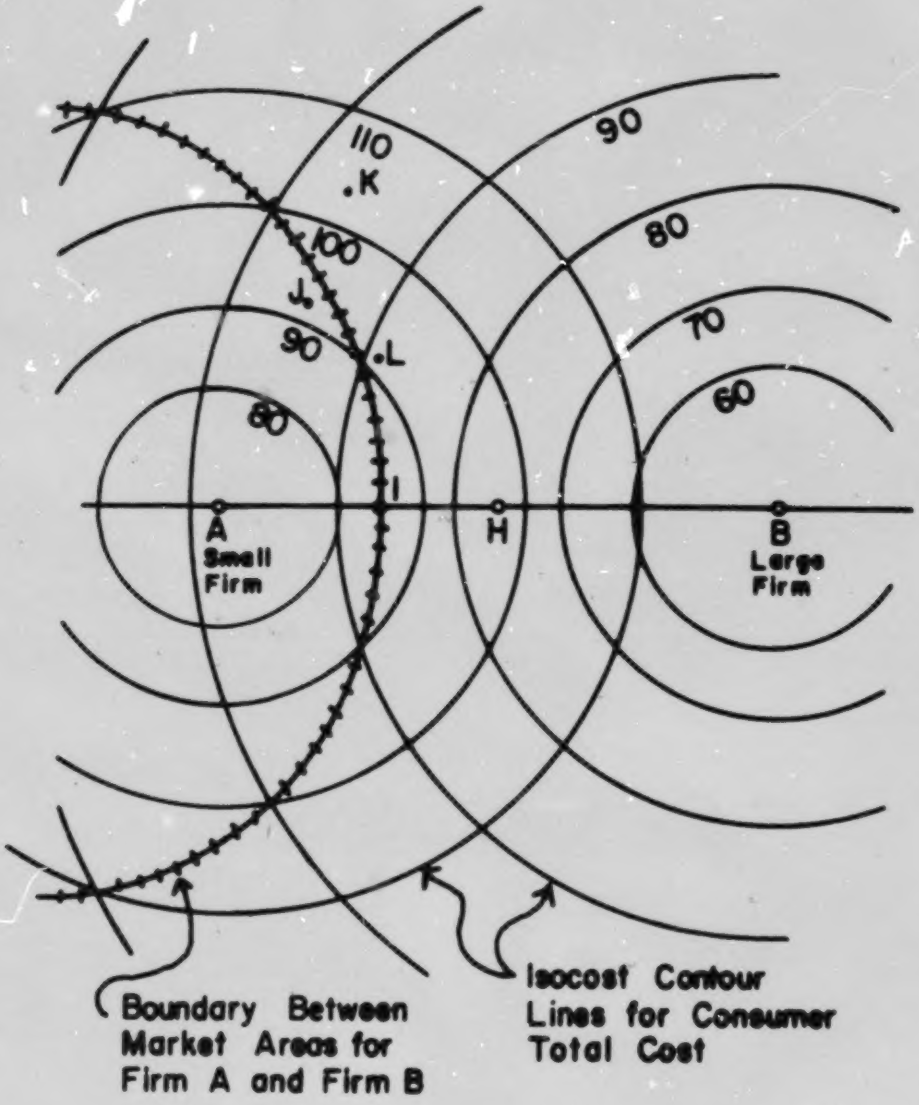

110
.K
100
J.
90
.L
80
I
90
80
70
60
A
Small
Firm
H
B
Large
Firm
Boundary Between
Market Areas for
Firm A and Firm B
Isocost Contour
Lines for Consumer
Total Cost

Exhibit 2.8

Possible Economies of Size Relations for Two Different Items

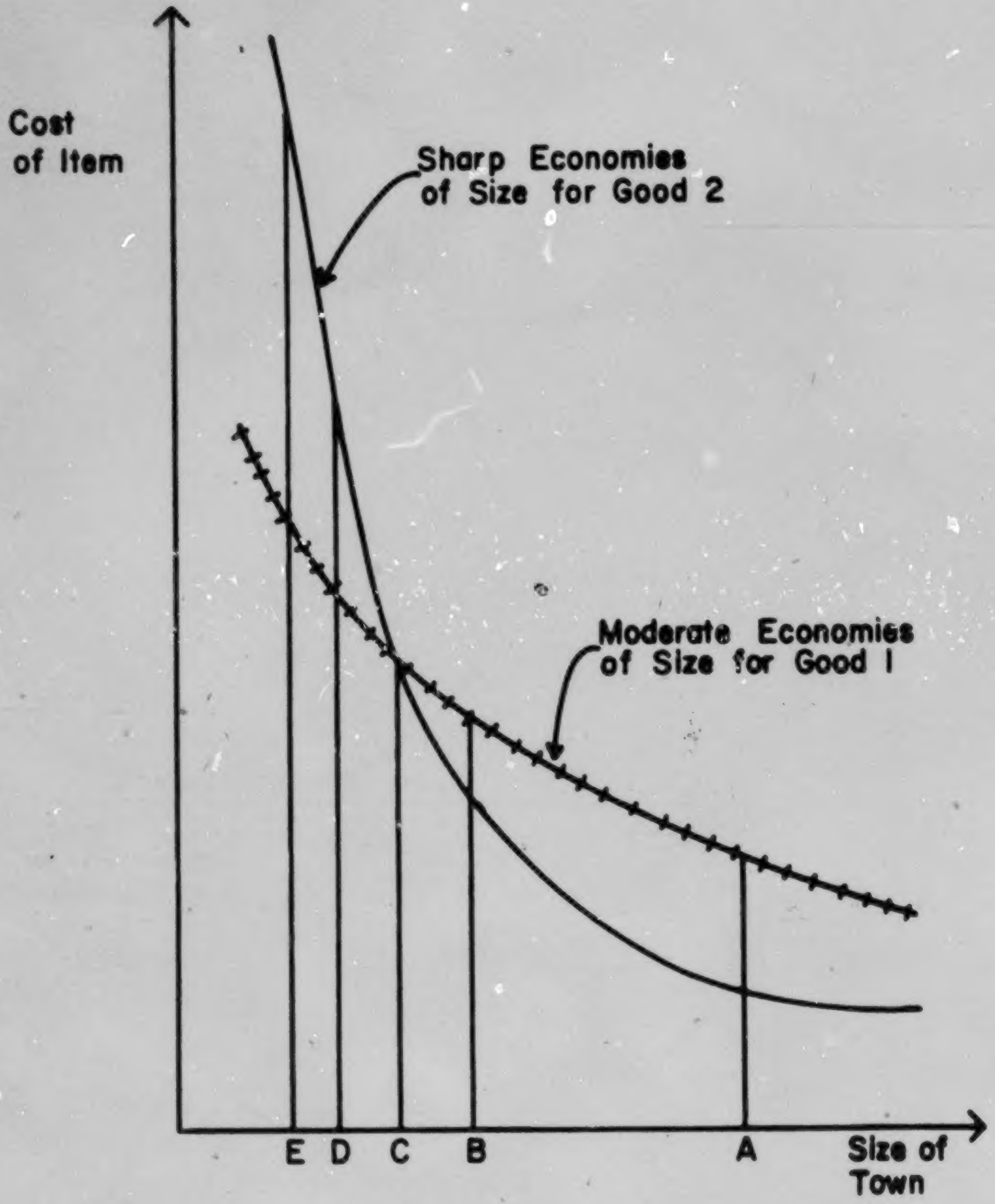
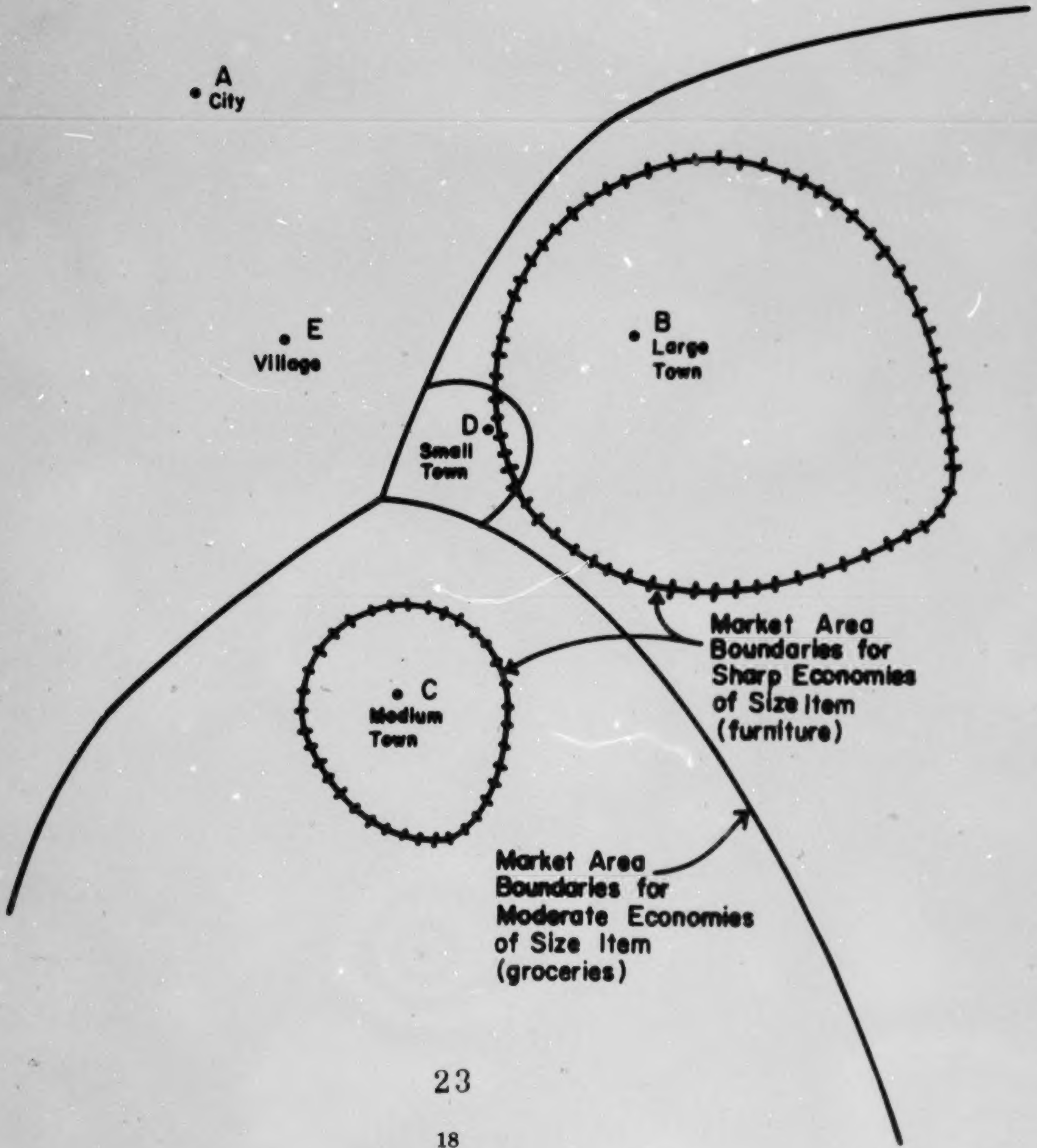


Exhibit 2.9

Market Area Boundaries for Two Items Having Different Economies of Size Relations


A
City
E
Village
B
Large Town
D
Small Town
C
Medium Town
Market Area Boundaries for Sharp Economies of Size Item (furniture)
Market Area Boundaries for Moderate Economies of Size Item (groceries)

the market for that item; and the variety of items available within a town increases with the size of the town, and a hierarchy of items exists such that some of the very basic items are found in even the smallest towns, while the higher order items are found in only the larger centers.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 report on some empirical attempts to examine economies of size, market areas, and hierarchies of goods and services for Idaho small towns.

A Spatial Model for Small Town Growth or Decline

The model so far is essentially static — it doesn't allow for growth or decline over time. Among the factors which change over time are: (1) cost of travel, (2) technology of delivery of goods and services, (3) the economic base of the community itself, and (4) the income levels of the people. A change in any of these factors can affect market areas in a given region and availability of goods and services within a given town.

A Change in Cost of Travel

One aspect of small town life which has changed very profoundly in the last 50 years is the ease of traveling from one town to another. The private automobile has become the dominant mode of travel and has become easier and more pleasant to drive (so much so that mass transit such as busses and passenger trains have suffered). Given this faster, more pleasant travel, given that we have grown more used to travel, and given our national mania for mobility, we find that both the psychic cost and the relative economic cost of travel have decreased.

What is the consequence of this greater mobility on the economy of a small community? The situation is shown in Exhibits 2.10 and 2.11. Exhibit 2.10 shows four alternative costs of travel curves. Suppose two towns, X and Y, with X containing a small hardware store and town Y with a larger hardware store that can offer lower prices. Exhibit 2.11 shows the market area boundaries that would result at each cost of travel. At even the highest travel cost many people are willing to travel the somewhat greater distance to shop at low priced town Y. As travel gets easier, however, this pattern accentuates — the market area controlled by town X shrinks. If travel cost drops to the level of the lowest travel cost curve shown in Exhibit 2.10, then even the people who live in small town X may find shopping at Y cheaper and the store will disappear from X.

A Change in Technology of Delivery of Goods and Services

At least as profound as the changes in transportation have been the changes in the goods and services themselves and in the technology of delivery of these goods and services. Small single proprietor grocery stores have given way to supermarkets where most Americans now buy their groceries. Small hardware stores and clothing stores have in most communities yielded to department stores. Most of the surviving auto dealerships and farm machinery dealers are high volume full range operations. The single doctor making a few patient contacts in a single examining room is giving way to group practices and nurses shuttling patients between multiple examining rooms to receive a few minutes of the doctor's time.

The common thread in all these examples is changing techniques of delivery — and in most cases changes which accentuate economies of size. Since the technology of the supermarket has been worked out, economies of size deals a very bad hand to the owner of a small single proprietor grocery store. Since the technology of mass selling of hardware or clothing has been perfected, the old fashioned hardware store and single proprietor clothing store are at a severe competitive disadvantage. Now that the procedures for mass practice of medicine are being perfected, a doctor using the older technologies is probably not earning as much as he might otherwise, and might possibly be offering his patients less than satisfactory care.

The technological changes suggested above have all been of a type which accentuate economies of size. The effect of economies of size was analyzed in Exhibits 2.8 and 2.9. The conclusion was that items with more extreme economies of size tend to be available only in the larger centers. To the extent that changing technology has exaggerated the economies of size relationship, small town small volume businesses have suffered.

A Change in the Economic Base of the Community

Most of the small towns with which this study is concerned are located where they are because of the natural resource endowments of the area. They tend to be dominated by farming, ranching, forestry, mining or recreation. The health and nature of these industries can change greatly over time. Lumbering depends on the vigor of the housing market and on interest rates. Farming can depend on foreign grain sales and the weather. Recreation depends on general economic health and on the availability of fuel. The number of people employed by a given basic industry depends on the health of that industry and on the technology of that industry.

Agriculture, mining, and forestry have all experienced labor saving technology in recent years. The number of man hours to produce a bushel of wheat, a yearling steer, or a board foot of lumber has dropped steadily. As a consequence those small towns which depend heavily on these extractive industries have lost jobs and lost people. The spatial model implies that good and service availability follows at least approximately with the size of the town. To the extent that technological change in the basic industries, as well as the fluctuations of the economy, tend to eliminate jobs and people in small towns, access to goods and services in these small towns will be affected also.

Recreation was mentioned as one natural resource-based industry of growing importance to many small Idaho towns. Ski areas, float and jet boat headquarters, guides and outfitters, and equipment sales are major industries in some towns. Such activity provided jobs and may be a viable basis for development. The increment of both permanent residents and travelers within a town's market area allows it to benefit from economies of size and enhances the ability of its merchants to compete.

A Change in Income Levels

Changing income levels present some theoretical problems. If people have higher incomes they may

Exhibit 2.10
Four Possible Cost of Travel Relationships

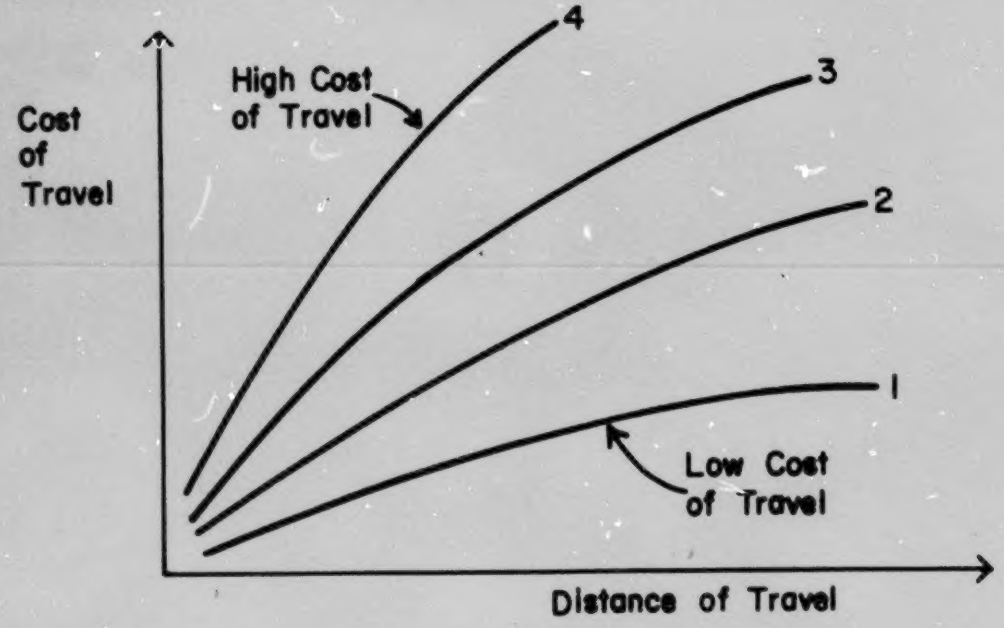
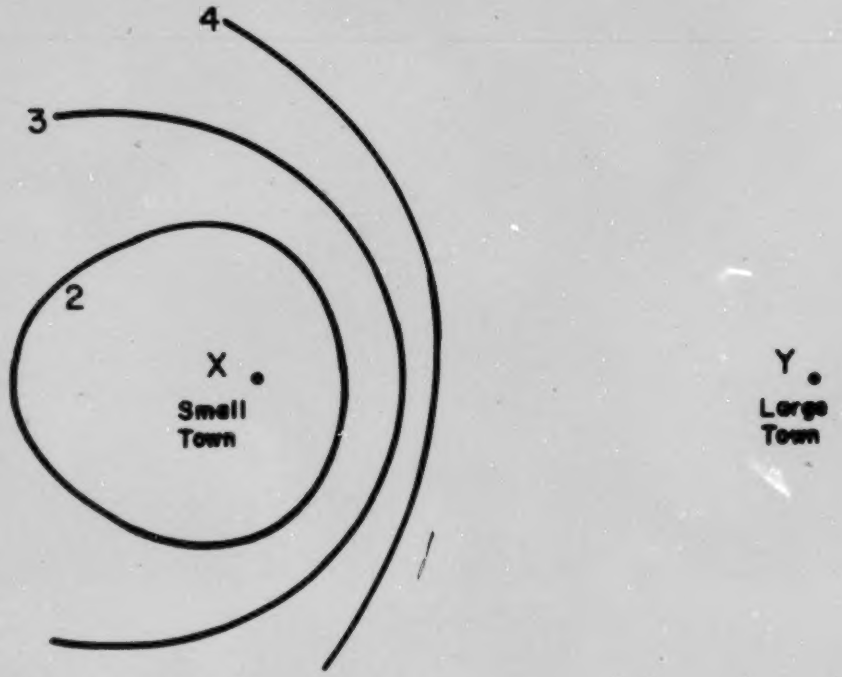


Exhibit 2.11
Market Area Boundaries for an Item for Each of Four Possible Travel Cost Relationships


4
3
2
X
Small Town
Y
Large Town

spend them in their own community — again adding to the size of the local market, allowing economies of size, and enhancing local competitive advantage. People in all communities have had increasing incomes in most years, but this may not have helped the local business establishments. Two forces appear at work: a shift to purchases of a different kind of item and a trend toward greater mobility.

When people's incomes rise they don't just buy more of the same things they bought before. Rather than buy flour, they buy bakery bread. Rather than dry beans, they buy TV dinners. Rather than fabric — designer clothes. Rather than more food — snowmobiles and powerboats. A safe generalization seems to be that the things people buy more of are not the things which can readily be found in small towns. Small stores may do well at handling basic items, but they can't offer the variety demanded by an affluent consumer. The small town resident may have to travel further to satisfy his new consumption urges.

Incomes may also have an effect on mobility of consumers. The cost of travel becomes less significant as incomes rise. Higher income means the purchase of a better car and makes travel easier. Air travel possibilities allow for even more exotic and more distant shopping trips.

Income-induced changes in what is bought may also change where basic purchases are made. A trip to the city to look over new cars and visit a classy restaurant may very well be matched with grocery shopping, clothes shopping, and a fill-up of gas. Rising incomes may be a mixed blessing to the small rural town.

Interaction Effects in Growth and Decline

The point was made earlier that the spatial model of small towns is essentially a static equilibrium model. Yet, the previous few pages have listed many factors which may act to disturb that equilibrium. A good theory of how a small town moves from one static equilibrium to another is needed — but that is precisely the point where existing theory is weakest. Perhaps a look at why theories don't work well may be instructive.

A small town community is a complicated organism and displays both a fragility and an amazing resiliency. The biological concept of synergy applies — a small town is more than just the sum of its component parts.

Examine the fragility of a small town. A nearby new superhighway may improve access to a supermarket in a distant city. The improved access may also hurt the business of the local barber and the local hardware store. When these close, they signal the loss of valued community gathering places, and even more seriously the loss of leaders and financial backers of the local community. A regional economy is a delicately interlocked thing, and one shock can precipitate a downward spiral.

The other side of the coin is resiliency. While it is true that the various parts of a community are tightly interrelated, keep in mind that changes occur slowly. Local businesses rarely fold up overnight. The economic principle of fixed investment assures that. (The store is there, the stock is there, although I wouldn't want to start out in business now, I think I can hang on for some time.) And, although sometimes fickle, local people do often give strong support to local business.

While standing in the path of the powerful economic forces that are hurting the competitive position of small town businesses, may not be possible, understand these forces, to develop ways to make inevitable adjustments less painful. Extension and research people have an obligation to see that mechanisms are developed so that small town rural people have reasonable access to the goods and services which have come to be an expected part of American quality of life.

Chapter III

Population and Access to Goods and Services

The theoretical model developed in the previous chapter led to the hypothesis that the range of goods and services found in a town depends, among other things, upon the size of that town. The objective of this chapter is to examine that relationship in greater detail, using actual Idaho data.

The theory suggested that a hierarchy of goods and services should exist. Some of the most basic goods and services would be provided by the smallest towns. Somewhat larger towns would provide some higher order goods and services in addition to the most basic ones. The highest order goods and services, along with all lower order ones, would be available from the largest towns. We will use Guttman scaling programming techniques[2] to derive estimates of this hierarchical ordering of goods and services.

Estimation of Hierarchies of Goods and Services

The Guttman scaling techniques were first derived for the analysis of sociology test and questionnaire responses and only later applied to the purpose at hand. The idea was that, for some particular trait of interest, respondents having high levels of the trait would answer most of a set of questions right. Respondents having less of the trait would answer only a subset of these questions properly. These smaller and smaller subsets form a hierarchy — or a "scale" as the sociologists would have it. Obviously, if one substitutes "service presence" for "trait", the scale becomes a service hierarchy.

The mathematics of the Guttman scaling are simple. Suppose we use some hypothetical service availability data:

	Service 1	Service 2	Service 3	Service 4
town A	absent	present	present	absent
town B	present	present	present	present
town C	absent	absent	present	present
town D	present	absent	present	absent

We can rearrange this same information in the following manner:

	Service 3	Service 2	Service 1	Service 4
town B	present	present	present	present
town D	present	absent	present	absent
town A	present	present	absent	absent
town C	present	absent	absent	present

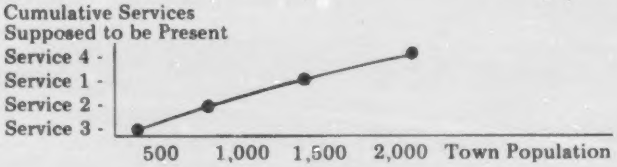
Note that the data on presence and absence of the various services are now arranged in a triangular pattern so that "present" appears above the diagonal in most cases, and "absent" usually appears below the diagonal. The cases where "present" or "absent" appear out of place are "errors". The objective, of course, is to rearrange the order of services and towns to minimize errors. (The reader can verify that no other arrangement of services or towns results in less than two errors.) The Guttman scaling program uses the computer to do this rearranging for a larger number of towns and services.

What interpretation can we give these results? We note that service 3 is present in all four towns so this is a very basic service. Service 2 was supposed to be a slightly higher order service, present in all towns except C. Its absence also from town D is counted as an "error". Service 1 is present, as expected, in two towns. Service 4 is present in town B where it is expected to be — but is also found as an "error" in town C. Service 4 is the highest order service in the hierarchy — found only in a small, select subset of towns. The towns can also be considered as a hierarchy. Town B is the highest order, most complex town, offering all four services. The towns range down to town C which is supposed to offer only service 3, although the presence of service 4 is noted as an anomaly. The output of the Guttman scaling program is a hierarchical ranking of both the services and the towns used as input.

Another way of looking at this service availability data is to use the concept of a "threshold". The idea of a threshold involved the statement of what minimum size a town must have to support a particular good or service. Population alone is not a good measure of town size, but since we lack another better univariate measure of size, this report uses population as a size measure. Suppose each of the four towns in the example have the population levels indicated:

town A	800
town B	2100
town C	300
town D	1400

In this case, the results from the example Guttman scaling program can be graphed in the following manner:



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[2] The reader familiar with Guttman scaling procedures will note that this paper relies on estimation methods of the Guttman scaling process, but makes some departures in the interpretation of program output. Geographers, especially, have made extensive use of the concept of town and service hierarchy and of scaling techniques. The thesis by Peterson (21) reviews some of this extensive literature.

The interpretation for this figure is in terms of thresholds. This hypothetical case suggests that a town as small as 300 people is large enough to support service 3 only. A town of 800 people is the threshold at which both service 2 and 3 should be present. Service 1 should be added to a town at the threshold population of 1400. The highest order service, service 4, enters at a threshold of 2100 people — a town of 2100 people is supposed to be large enough to support all four hypothetical services.

Empirical Town and Service Hierarchies for Idaho

We used the Guttman scaling program to derive hierarchies of towns, hierarchies of services, and service threshold levels for Idaho towns. The principal data source on service availability for this analysis was the Reference Book of Dun and Bradstreet.[3] This data book is principally used for such things as credit analysis. For this study, its virtue was a complete listing of business enterprises by type for all places, including the smallest towns.

Dun and Bradstreet data for 1964 and 1974 were used in this analysis. The 1974 data set identified the incidence of 93 services in 176 Idaho towns. The computer program used was limited to only 25 data columns. Because of this limit, only subsets of the larger Dun and Bradstreet data set could be processed at one time.

We examined two such subsets of the 1974 data. One subset of data on 176 towns was used to produce a hierarchy among 25 arbitrarily selected, but hopefully representative, goods and services. The results of this ordering appear as Exhibit 3.1. Exhibit 3.2 presents the results of a similar analysis where the roles of services and towns were reversed. Data on 93 services were used to rank 22 representative towns. The 22 towns were chosen randomly from the 176 possible towns. The orderings in Exhibits 3.1 and 3.2 give a good picture of the hierarchical relationships for Idaho towns in 1974 — but also point out some weaknesses in the underlying data and methodology.

Both Exhibits 3.1 and 3.2 give two rankings — a hierarchy of services and a hierarchy of towns. Comparison of the two rankings of towns and the two rankings of services reveals some discrepancies. These discrepancies can be traced to the fact that each ranking was produced using only a subset of the Dun and Bradstreet data. The ordering of the 25 services is a strong one — data from all 176 towns were used in establishing this order. The ranking of the 176 towns is a more questionable one — these towns were ordered using only data from the 25 representative services. Because the 25 service data are only a part of the total service package, the town ordering must be viewed as a weak ordering. Similarly for Exhibit 3.2, the hierarchy of 22 sample towns is a strong ordering based on complete information on 93 services. The 93 services form only a weak ranking based on the subset of 22 towns.

The resulting hierarchies show some interesting patterns. The wholesaling and specialty stores are generally picked as the higher order items, while such personal service items as banks, drug stores, service stations, and grocery stores are selected as more basic items. The larger towns tended to be picked as offering the most complex set of goods and services, and the smallest towns offered only the most basic items. Those familiar with some of the towns, however, will quickly note some of the weaknesses in the Dun and Bradstreet data. Most of the problems relate to difficulty in classification. Contrary to Exhibit 3.2, Moscow actually does have both an electrical supply store and a masonry supply store. However, Dun and Bradstreet list the first as an electrical contractor and the second as a redi-mix concrete supplier. The Dun and Bradstreet interpretation does probably reflect the business emphasis of these firms at that time — but does lead to an unfortunate amount of confusion in setting up and interpreting the hierarchies. The same classification problem is also seen in the results from some of the smaller towns. You may buy groceries in some small village, but Dun and Bradstreet chose to classify the business under one of its other offerings — perhaps as a service station or maybe a dry goods store.

Exhibit 3.3 is a graph of the population of the towns at each service threshold level in 1974. The pattern is readily apparent. The smallest towns, ranging up to 1000 to 2000 people, have services such as grocery stores, drug stores, banks, etc. Towns over about 10,000 seem to take on the role of wholesaling centers. Exhibit 3.4 is a graph of similar results from the data on 22 towns and 93 services. In this analysis the only role for the very smallest towns — those under 500 people — is providing the most basic services such as groceries and gas.

Implications of Hierarchies and Thresholds for Idaho Towns

One of the motivations for this study was the subjective observation that many small Idaho towns are losing local businesses and that local people are increasingly forced to travel to larger more distant towns to obtain items which they once would have gotten locally. The analysis of this section allows for an empirical test of this observation.

Two possible hypotheses (not necessarily exclusive) might account for the deterioration of the small town business climate. The relationship between numbers of services in a town and town population implies that a fall in population should produce a drop in numbers of services. Since many of the towns experiencing business survival problems have also experienced population losses, this relationship seems plausible.

The second hypothesized relationship to account for small town business decline is that the threshold relationship has shifted. Economies of scale, travel costs, and other factors may have shifted so that a larger town is needed to support a given business type than a few years ago. Obviously these two relationships could work separately or together to produce the observed difficulty of the small town business communities.

To address these hypothesized relationships more directly, let us compare 1974 service hierarchy with hierarchy in an earlier period. Exhibit 3.5 gives the 1964 town and service hierarchies constructed from

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[3] Harold Gibson of Potlatch Corporation, Lewiston, made this data source available for this study.

Exhibit 3.1: 1974 Idaho Town and Service Hierarchies Constructed from Dun and Bradstreet Data on 25 Services and 176 Towns

Rank	Service	Town	Population
25	Wholesale Dry Goods & Apparel	176 Boise	74,990
		175 Idaho Falls	35,776
		174 Coeur d'Alene	16,228
		173 Burley	8,279
24	Children's Wear	172 Lewiston	26,068
		171 Twin Falls	21,914
		170 Moscow	14,146
		169 Pocatello	40,036
23	Wholesale Groceries	168 Nampa	20,768
		167 Caldwell	14,219
22-21	Whse, Prof. & Service Equipment Wholesale Beverage	166 Sandpoint	4,144
20	Music Store	165 Blackfoot	8,716
		164 Orofino	3,883
		163 Rupert	4,567
		162 Payette	4,521
		161 Emmett	3,945
19-18	Recreational Services Office Supply & Stationery	160 Bonners Ferry	1,909
		159 Mountain Home	6,451
		158 Preston	3,310
		157 Gooding	2,599
		156 Kellogg	3,811
		155 Rexburg	8,272
		154 Weiser	4,108
17	Radio & TV Store	153 Montpelier	2,604
		152 St. Maries	2,571
		151 Jerome	4,183
		150 St. Anthony	2,877
		149 Grangeville	3,636
16	Variety Store	148 Rigby	2,384
15	Florist	147 American Falls	2,769
		146 McCall	1,758
		145 Meridian	2,616
		144 Malad	1,848
14	Sporting Goods	143 Council	899
		142 Hailey	1,425
		141 Salmon	2,910
		140 Soda Springs	2,977
		139 Driggs	727
13	Hospital	138 Ashton	1,187
		137 Arco	1,244
12	Farm & Garden Store	136 Wendell	1,122
		135 Buhl	2,975
		134 Aberdeen	1,542
		133 Homedale	1,411
		132 Shelley	2,614
		131 Hayden Lake	260
		130 Paul	911
		129 Craigmont	554
11	Wholesale Auto Parts	128 Wallace	2,206
		127 Kamiah	1,307

Exhibit 3.1 (continued)

Rank	Service	Town	Population
10	Apparel	126 Grace	826
		125 Cottonwood	867
		124 Ketchum	1,454
		123 Challis	784
		122 Mackay	539
9	Doctor	121 Post Falls	1,934
		120 Shoshone	1,233
		119 Downey	586
		118 Cascade	833
8	Hotel & Motel	117 Glens Ferry	1,386
		116 Priest River	1,493
		115 Parma	1,228
		114 Cambridge	383
7	Dentist	113 Pinehurst	1,934
6	Appliances & Furniture	112 Filer	1,173
		111 Hazelton	396
5	Garage, Auto, Implement Repair	110 Kendrick	426
		109 New Plymouth	986
		108 Kuna	593
		107 Lava Hot Springs	516
		106 Wilder	564
		105 Melba	197
		104 Marsing	610
4	Bank	103 Nez Perce	555
		102 Pierce	1,218
		101 Troy	541
		100 Kimberly	1,557
		99 Potlatch	871
3	Drug Store	98 Paris	615
		97 Osburn	2,248
		96 Franklin	402
		95 Fairfield	336
		94 New Meadows	605
		93 Spirit Lake	622
		92 Victor	241
		91 Mullan	1,279
		90 Rathdrum	741
		89 Oakley	656
		88 Bancroft	366
2	Service Station	87 Ucon	664
		86 Kooskia	809
		85 Fruitland	1,576
		84 Worley	235
		83 Plummer	443
		82 Middleton	739
		81 Bliss	114
		80 Mud Lake - Terreton	194
		79 Genesee	619
		78 Riggins	533
		77 Stanley	47
		76 Firth	362
		75 Heyburn	1,637
		74 Midvale	176
		73 Irwin	228
		72 Dubois	400
		71 Inkom	522
		70 McCammon	623
		69 Georgetown	421
		68 Ririe	575
		67 Bellevue	537

Exhibit 3.1 (continued)

Rank	Service	Town	Population
2	Service Station (continued)	66 Tensed	151
		65 Eden	343
		64 Deary	411
		63 Moore	156
		62 Roberts	393
		61 Ponderay	275
		60 Hansen	415
		59 Hagerman	436
		58 Castleford	174
		57 Ferdinand	157
		56 Arimo	252
		55 Albion	229
		54 Dayton	198
		53 Athol	190
		52 Menan	545
		51 Stites	263
		50 Sugar City	617
		49 Lapwai	400
		48 Notus	304
		47 Teton	390
		46 White Bird	185
		45 Newdale	267
		44 Iona	890
		43 Atomic City	24
		42 Island Park	136
1	Grocery Store	41 St. Charles	200
		40 Clark Fork	367
		39 Declo	251
		38 Hope	63
		37 Moyie Springs	203
		36 Donnelly	114
		35 Parker	266
		34 Harrison	249
		33 Minidoka	131
		32 Smelterville	967
		31 Culdesac	211
		30 Richfield	290
		29 Leadore	111
		28 Weston	230
		27 Winchester	274
		26 Juliaetta	422
		25 Acequia	107
0	None	24 Horse Shoe Bend	511
		23 Sun Valley	180
		22 Tetonia	176
		21 Reubens	81
		20 Hollistor	57
		19 Kootenai	168
		18 Elk River	383
		17 Bovill	350
		16 Lewisville	468
		15 Swan Valley	235
		14 Idaho City	164
		13 Rockland	209
		12 Peck	238
		11 Wardner	492
		10 Warm River	10
		9 Spencer	45
		8 Drummond	13
		7 Butte	42
		6 Crouch	71
		5 Heise	84
		4 Dietrich	84
		3 Hamer	81
		2 Clifton	137
		1 Murtaugh	124

Exhibit 3.2: 1974 Idaho Town and Service Hierarchies Constructed from Dun and Bradstreet Data on 22 Towns and 93 Services.

Rank	Service	Town	Population
1	Masonry Supply	None	
2	Auto Upholstery		
3	Retail Feed, Hay & Grain		
4	Auto Electrical Repair		
5	Electrical Supply		
6	Radiator Repair		
7	Travel Service	1 Moscow	14,146
8	Masonry Contractors		
9	Salvage-Surplus		
10	Janitorial Services		
11	Book Store		
12	Water Softener		
13	Bakery		
14	Electrical Repair		
15	Shoe Repair		
16	Wholesale Tires	2 Burley	8,279
17	Children's Clothing		
18	Department Stores		
19	Rock Production & Crushing		
20	Meat & Meat Products	3 Blackfoot	8,716
21	Metal Fabrication & Welding		
22	Music Stores		
23	Auto Body Repair		
24	Meat Market		
25	Heating & Plumbing Supply		
26	Photo Finishing & Studio		
27	Whse. Industrial Supply		
28	Cabinets & Carpentry		
29	Miscellaneous Wholesale		
30	Motel		
31	Radio & TV Broadcasting		
32	Painting Contractor	4 Mountain Home	6,451
33	Reupholstery & Furniture Repair		
34	Fertilizer		
35	Wholesale Beverage		
36	Laundromat		
37	Excavating		
38	Wholesale Petroleum		
39	Drapery & Curtains		
40	Second Hand Store	5 Buhl	2,975
41	Family Shoe Store		
42	Stationery & Office Supply		
43	Interior Decorator		
44	Commercial Printing (Excl. Newspapers)		
45	Mortician		
46	Blacksmith & Welding	6 Bonners Ferry	1,909
47	Florist		
48	Floor Covering		
49	Hotel		
50	Mens & Boys Wear		
51	Fuel & Coal		
52	Confectioners (Whse. & Retail)		
53	Misc. Retail		

Exhibit 3.2 (continued)

Rank	Service	Town	Population
54	Fabric, Yarn, Price Goods	7 St. Anthony	2,877
55	Trucking		
56	Paint, Glass & Wallpaper		
57	Family Clothing Store		
58	Jeweler		
59	Redi-Mix Concrete		
60	Bowling		
61	Radio & TV Service		
62	Radio & TV Store		
63	Machine Shop		
64	Newspaper		
65	General Repairs		
66	Limited Price Variety Store		
67	Dry Cleaning & Prof. Laundry	8 Glens Ferry	1,386
68	Whse. Grocery & Produce		
69	Women's Wear		
70	Farm Equipment & Implements		
71	Plumbing, Heating & Heat Contractors		
72	Sporting Goods	9 Aberdeen	1,542
73	Whse. Auto Equipment		
74	Furniture Stores	10 Potlatch	871
75	General Auto Repair		
76	Restaurant		
77	Motor Vehicles		
78	Food Lockers & Cold Storage	11 Genesee	619
79	Appliances - Large & Small		
80	General Building Contractors		
81	Raw Material (incl. farm) Processing		
82	Bank		
83	Electrical Contractor		
84	Hardware	12 Melba	197
85	Bulk Petroleum		
86	Drug Store		
87	Tire, Battery & Accessory	13 Mud Lake-Terreton	194
88	Tavern	14 Menan	545
89	Farm & Garden Store		
90	Lumber Yard & Building Supply	15 Ferdinand	157
91	Dry Goods & General Merchandise	16 Elk River	383
		17 Tetonia	176
92	Service Station	18 Georgetown	421
93	Grocery Store	19 Notus	304
		20 Declo	251
None		21 Peck	238
		22 Wardner	492

Exhibit 3.3 Estimates of 1974 Thresholds from Dun & Bradstreet Data on 176 Town and 25 Services

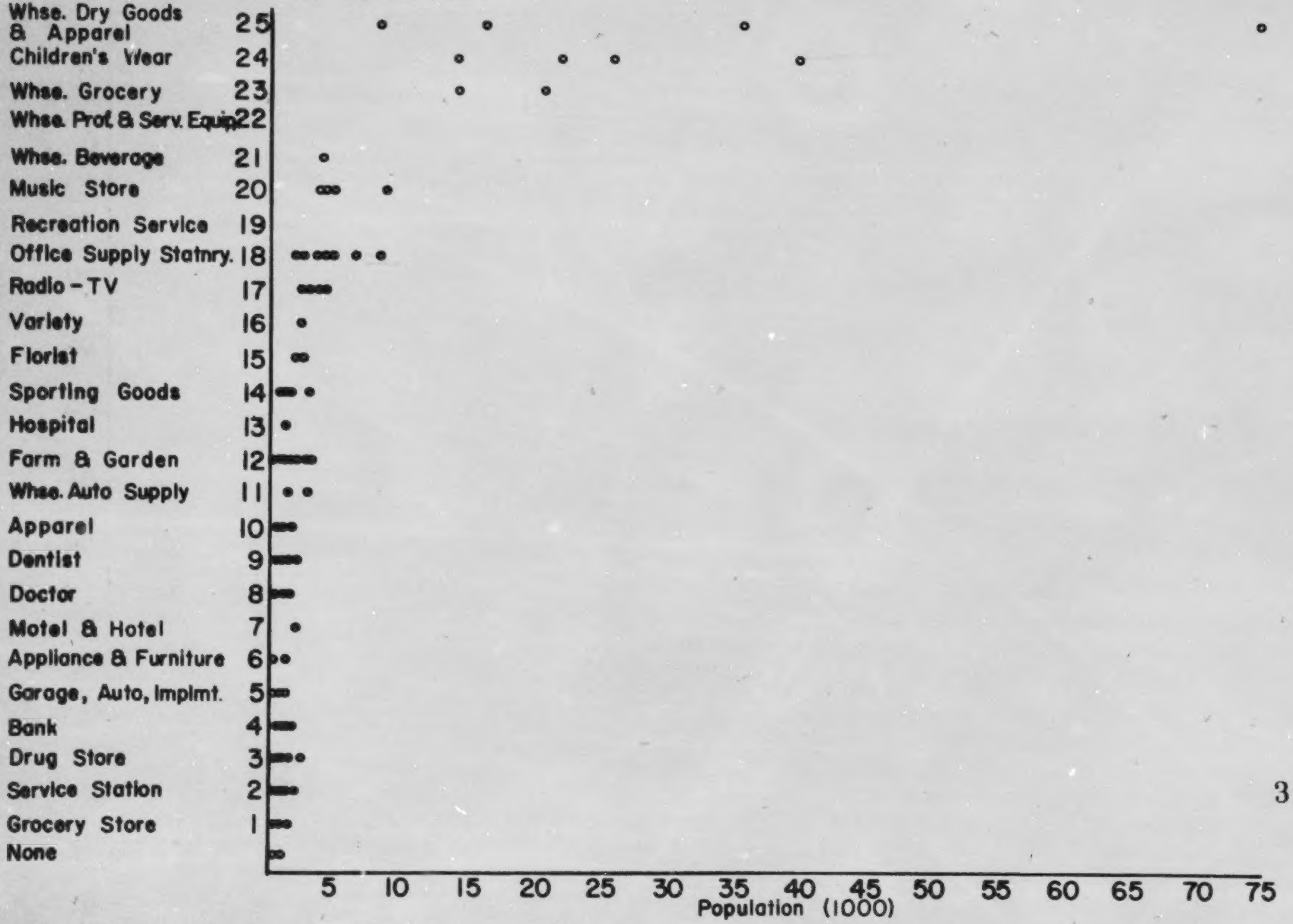

Exhibit 3.4

Estimates of 1974 Thresholds from Dun & Bradsteet Data on 22 Towns and 93 Services

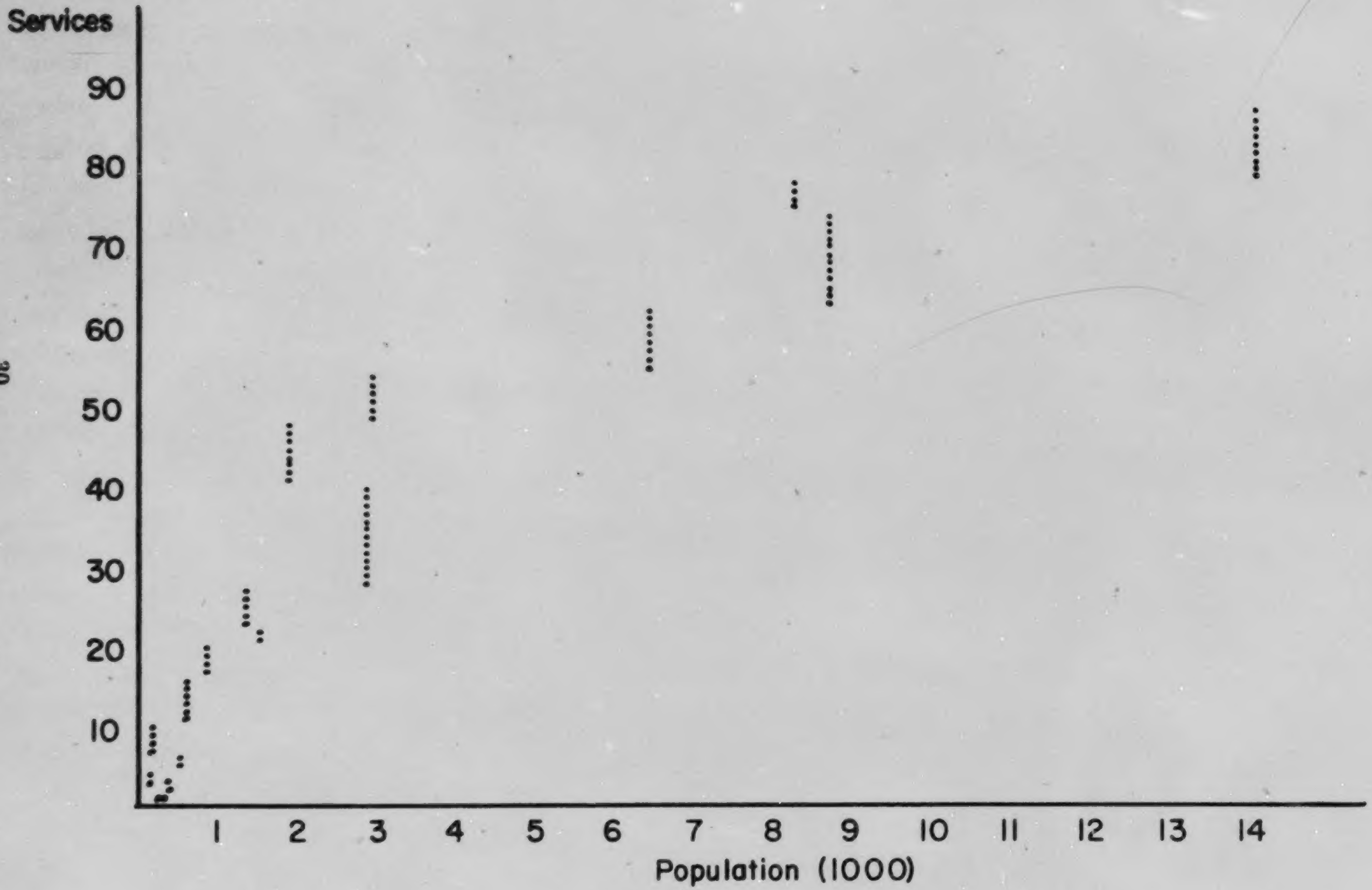

Exhibit 3.5 (continued)

Rank	Service	Town	Population
10	Hotel & Motel	123 Craigmont	703
		122 Cottonwood	1,085
		121 New Meadows	647
		120 Glens Ferry	1,374
		119 Cambridge	473
9	Appliances & Furniture	118 Genesee	535
		117 Aberdeen	1,484
		116 Hazelton	433
		115 Kimberly	1,298
		114 Mackay	652
		113 Potlatch	880
8	Doctor	112 Filer	1,249
		111 Wendell	1,232
		110 Cascade	923
7-6	Bank & Apparel	109 Kendrick	443
		108 New Plymouth	940
		107 Ketchum	746
		106 Lava Hot Springs	593
		105 Wilder	603
		104 McCall	1,423
		103 Paul	701
5	Farm & Garden Store	102 Middleton	541
		101 Rathdrum	710
		100 Fairfield	474
		99 Melba	197
		98 Ririe	560
		97 Roberts	422
		96 Bancroft	416
		95 Firth	322
		94 Hayden Lake	247
		93 Franklin	446
4	Drug Store	92 Mud Lake-Terreton	187
		91 Kuna	516
		90 Oakley	613
		89 Osburn	1,788
		88 Spirit Lake	693
		87 Victor	240
3	Garage, Auto, Implement Repair	86 Hagerman	430
		85 Richfield	329
		84 Kooskia	801
		83 Worley	241
		82 Riggins	588
		81 Teton	399
		80 Dubois	447
		79 Magic Springs	196
		78 Bellevue	384
		77 Nez Perce	667
		76 Bliss	91
		75 Smelterville	1,127
		74 Ucon	532
		73 Eden	426
		72 Hansen	427
		71 Harrison	249
		70 Lapwai	500
		69 Midvale	211
		68 Winchester	427

Exhibit 3.5: 1964 Idaho Town and Service Hierarchies Constructed from Dun and Bradstreet Data on 23 Services and 176 Towns

Rank	Service	Town	Population
23	Whse. Prof. & Service Equipment	176 Boise	34,481
		175 Caldwell	12,230
		174 Coeur d'Alene	14,291
		173 Lewiston	12,691
		172 Burley	7,508
		171 Pocatello	28,534
22	Office Supply & Stationery	170 Idaho Falls	33,161
		169 Moscow	11,183
		168 Weiser	4,208
		167 Nampa	18,897
		166 Payette	4,451
		165 Sandpoint	4,355
		164 Twin Falls	20,126
		163 Jerome	4,761
21	Music Store	162 Montpelier	3,146
		161 Buhl	3,059
20	Radio & TV Store	160 Rexburg	4,767
		159 Orofino	2,471
		158 Soda Springs	2,424
19	Wholesale Beverage	157 St. Anthony	2,700
		156 Rigby	2,281
18	Recreational Services	155 St. Maries	2,435
		154 Blackfoot	7,378
		153 Salmon	2,944
		152 Kellogg	5,061
		151 Wallace	2,412
		150 Bonners Ferry	1,921
		149 Shelley	2,612
		148 Meridian	2,681
		147 Shoshone	1,416
		146 Kamiah	1,245
		145 Arco	1,562
17	Variety Store	144 Mt. Home	5,984
		143 Grangeville	3,642
		142 Preston	3,640
		141 Emmett	3,769
		140 Gooding	2,750
		139 Rupert	4,153
16	Whse. Auto Parts	138 McCammon	557
		137 Malad	2,274
15	Florist	136 Hailey	1,185
14	Wholesale Groceries	135 Council	827
13	Sporting Goods Store	134 Challis	732
		133 Ashton	1,242
		132 Driggs	824
12	Hospital	131 Downey	726
		130 American Falls	2,123
11	Dentist	129 Homedale	1,381
		128 Parma	1,295
		127 Priest River	1,749
		126 Post Falls	1,432
		125 Troy	555
		124 Grace	725

Exhibit 3.5 (continued)

Rank	Service	Town	Population
2	Grocery Store	67 Hope	96
		66 Clark Fork	452
		65 Sugar City	584
		64 Deary	349
		63 Culdesac	209
		62 Fruitland	804
		61 Heyburn	829
		60 Bovill	357
		59 Pierce	522
		58 Athol	214
		57 Albion	415
		56 Arimo	303
		55 Inkom	528
		54 Iona	702
		53 Castleford	274
		52 Juliaetta	368
		51 Stanley	35
		50 Marsing	555
		49 Elk River	382
		48 White Bird	253
		47 Pinehurst	1,432
		46 Plummer	344
		45 Hollister	60
		44 Kootenai	180
		43 Horse Shoe Bend	480
		42 St. Charles	300
		41 Declo	237
		40 Spencer	100
		39 Stites	299
		38 Ferdinand	176
		37 Tensed	184
		36 Tetonia	194
		35 Georgetown	551
		34 Mullan	1,477
		33 Newdale	272
		32 Irwin	330
1	Service Station	31 Menan	496
		30 Idaho City	188
		29 Island Park	53
		28 Rockland	258
		27 Moore	358
		26 Donnelly	161
		25 Notus	324
		24 Murtaugh	214
		23 Lewisville	385
		22 Paris	746
		21 Leadore	141
		20 Atomic City	141
		19 Parker	284
0	None	18 Dayton	212
		17 Sun Valley	317
		16 Reubens	113
		15 Swan Valley	217
		14 Wardner	577
		13 Weston	284
		12 Clifton	150
		11 Peck	186
		10 Hamer	144
		9 Minidoka	154
		8 Warm River	20
		7 Dietrich	118
		6 Heise	64
		5 Crouch	89
		4 Acequia	107
		3 Ponderay	231
		2 Butte	104
		1 Drummond	31

Dun and Bradstreet data on 23 services and 176 towns.

Exhibit 3.6 is a graph of town population means for each service threshold level in the 1964 and 1974 hierarchies. This graph strongly documents that number of services at any given time is related to town size — our first hypothesis.

However, Exhibit 3.6 doesn't tell us much about the second hypothesis — the shifting of the relationship. The group means in Exhibit 3.6 are graphed according to their rank in the 1964 or 1974 hierarchies, and these positions in general have shifted. The shift of the 1974 curve to the right of the 1964 curve in Exhibit 3.6 can only be given the weak interpretation: without regard to which services, the number of services supported by a given population appears to have fallen between 1964 and 1974.

Has the required threshold population for a given service changed over the decade? This question is addressed in Exhibit 3.7. The groups are paired so that the population required for entry of a service in 1964 can be compared to the required population for that same service in 1974. The data for the three highest ordered services in 1974 are collapsed into one grouping so that the same 23 goods and services are ranked in both years.[4] Except for several anomalies, the group mean population in 1974 is higher than the group mean population in 1964 for a given service. Exhibit 3.7 also shows the results of one way analysis of variance tests comparing individually each of the paired groups. The one way AOV results are a test of the null hypothesis $H_o : \mu 64 \geq \mu 74$ against the alternative hypothesis $H_a : \mu 64 < \mu 74$ Thus, the percentages shown in the table give the probability with which the 1974 group has a higher mean than the 1964 group for any given item. Wholesale beverage outlets, for example, first entered for towns having a group mean of 2,490.5 people in 1964. By 1974 the threshold for entry was represented by a group mean of 4,144 people. The statistical conclusion is that, with 90% probability, the 1974 group has a higher mean than the 1964 group. Of the 24 items, 13 showed probabilities above 75%. Only 4 items showed probabilities below 25% — which indicate the likelihood that the population threshold had actually fallen between 1964 and 1974. The items for which the probability of a shift exceeded the 25% and 75% criteria were:

Probably Lower Threshold in 1974 than 1964

- Wholesale prof. and service equipment
- Office supply and stationery
- Variety store
- Grocery store

Probably Higher Threshold in 1974 than 1964

- Wholesale groceries
- Wholesale beverages
- Music store
- Recreational services
- Florist
- Sporting goods
- Farm and garden store
- Apparel
- Hotel and Motel
- Dentist
- Garage, auto, implement repair
- Bank
- Service station

These results should not be taken too seriously, however. The analysis is, in a sense, incomplete. Our theory strongly suggests that the position of a town in the hierarchy should be closely correlated with that town's population. If this were strictly true, then the group means would form a smooth pattern — the highest order service having the largest group mean and each successively lower order service, a smaller group mean. Obviously, the curves in Exhibit 3.6 give a rough approximation to this pattern, with some deviations. The deviations are partly the result of small sample problems — only one or two sample observations from which a group mean is computed. Irregularities also arise because of data problems, especially errors and misclassifications from our use of the Dun and Bradstreet data. And overshadowing both of these is the inexactness of the relation between service presence and any one causative factor such as population.

Regression analysis was used to impose the assumption of function regularity on the relationship of town size (P) to service offering (NOS). The regression equations used had the form:

$$\ln P = b_o + b_1 \text{ NOS} + e$$

where number of services was taken as the number of services the town should have had according to the Guttman scaling program. When this was applied to the 1964 data on 176 Idaho towns, the result was:

$$\ln P = 5.295 + .159 \text{ NOS} \qquad R^2 = .752$$
$$(t = 22.98)$$

and for the 1974 data set the following equation was produced:

$$\ln P = 5.273 + .177 \text{ NOS} \qquad R^2 = .733$$
$$(t = 21.87)$$

Both of these regressions do a fairly good job of fitting their respective data sets. The service-population thresholds implied by these regressions are shown as a graph in Exhibit 3.8.

In accord with our hypothesis that the hierarchical structure has shifted over time, the obvious test is to check whether the two curves in Exhibit 3.8 are significantly different. The proper test is an F-test of the joint null hypothesis that each of the model coefficients for 1964 are equal to the corresponding model coefficients for 1974.

$$H_o : B_{i64} = B_{i74} \text{ for all i}$$

against the alternative hypothesis of inequality:

$$H_a : B_{i64} \neq B_{i74} \text{ for all i}$$

The F-statistic is computed using SS_{64} and SS_{74}, the sums of squared residuals from the regressions noted above. These numbers are compared to SS_{Tot}, the sum of squared residuals from a regression on the 352 pooled observations from the two above regressions. The F-statistic is:

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[4] Note that the highest ordered group in each year is upward unbounded so that its group mean population is upward biased. Thus, Boise in 1974 was large enough to have a wholesale grocery outlet. However, Boise was far larger than the minimum size necessary for that item to enter — so the presence of Boise in the group produces an upward biased estimate of the necessary threshold population for entry of wholesale grocery suppliers.

Exhibit 3.6

Mean Population of Towns at Each Service Threshold, 1964 and 1974

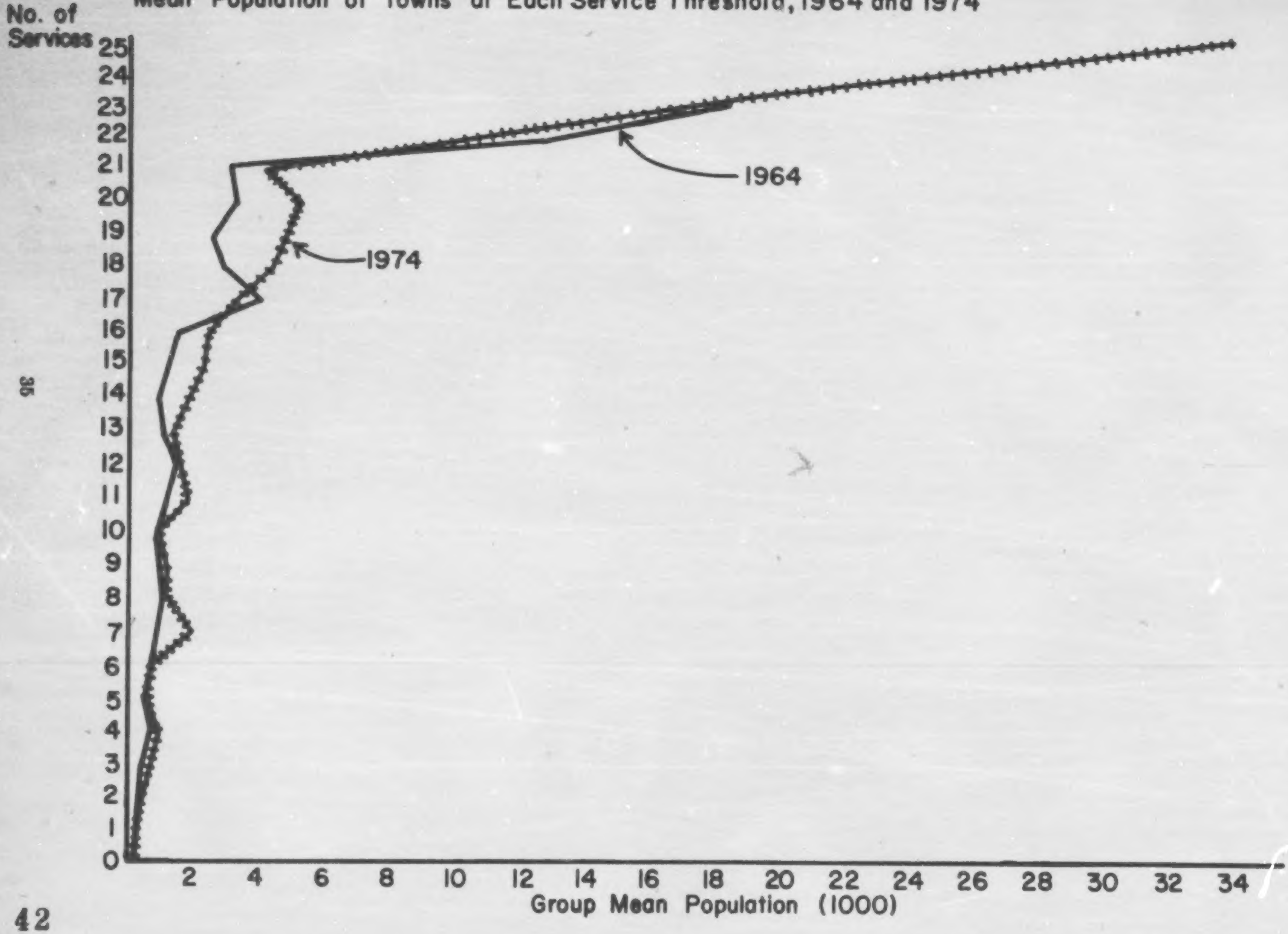


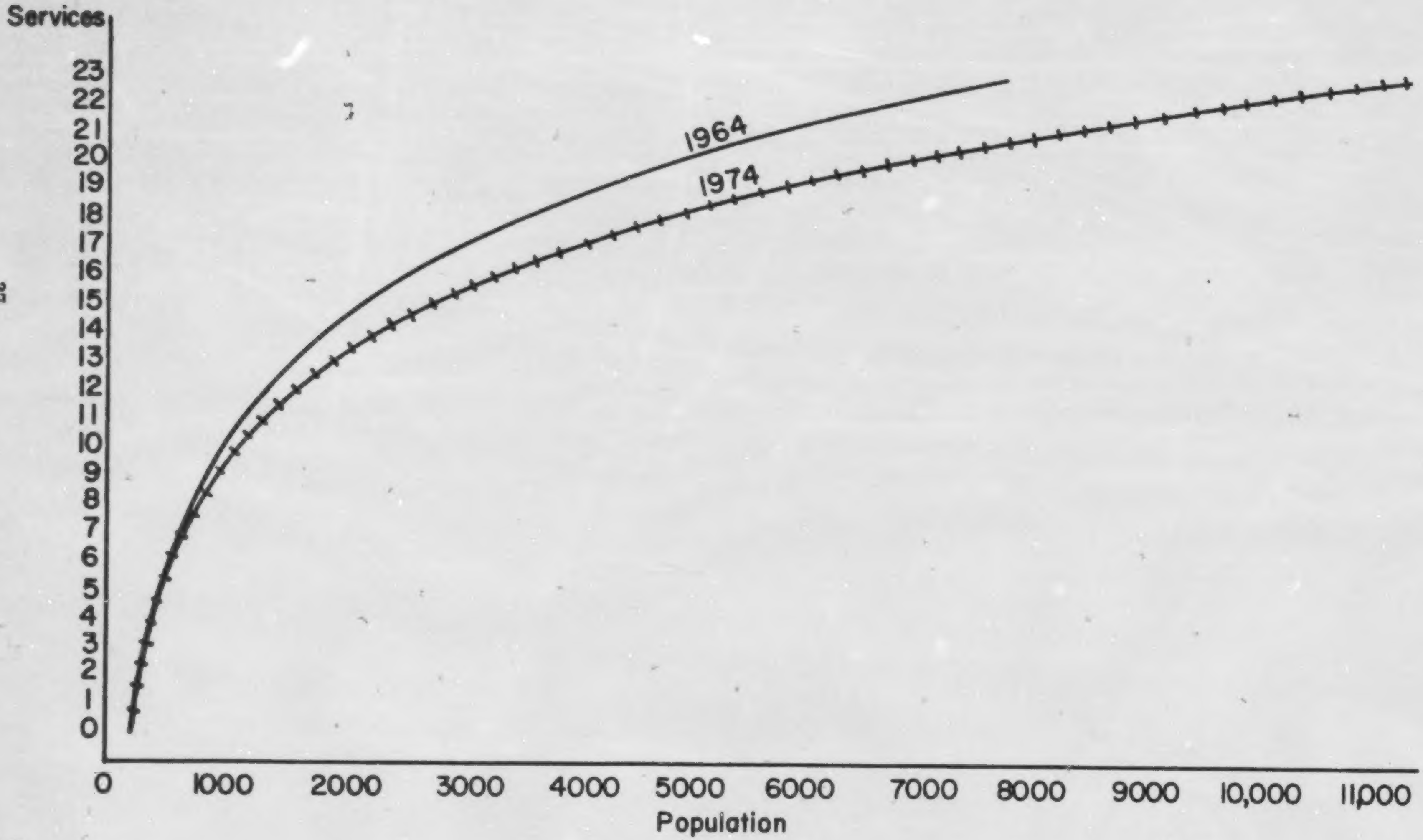
Exhibit 3.7: Mean Populations of Towns at Each Threshold in 1964 and 1974 with Significance Tests of Indicated Shifts

		1974		1964				
1974 Sequence	Item	Group Means	Number of Towns Grouped at Threshold	Group Means	Number of Towns Grouped at Threshold	Difference Between 1964 & 1974 Group Means	Analysis of Variance F-Statistic	Probability with which 1974 Towns are Larger
23	Wholesale Groceries	27,242.4	10	827.0	1	+26,415.4	1.67	>87.5*
22	Whse. Prof. & Ser. Equip.	4,144.0	1	18,289.2	6	-14,145.2	1.51	<15.0
21	Wholesale Beverage	4,144.0	1	2,490.5	2	+ 1,653.5	20.76	>90.0*
20	Music Store	5,125.6	5	3,102.5	2	+ 2,023.1	1.77	>87.5*
19	Recreational Services	4,351.4	7	2,824.3	11	+ 1,527.1	2.50	>90.0*
18	Office Supply & Station.	4,351.4	7	12,642.8	8	- 8,291.4	4.08	< 2.5
17	Radio & T.V. Store	3,162.2	5	3,220.7	3	- 58.5	.01	<50.0
16	Variety Store	2,384.0	1	3,989.7	6	- 1,605.7	1.89	<12.5
15	Florist	2,247.8	4	1,185.0	1	+ 1,062.8	3.36	>90.0*
14	Sporting Goods	1,787.6	5	932.7	3	+ 854.9	1.69	>87.5*
13	Hospital	1,215.5	2	1,424.5	2	- 209.0	.09	<40.0
12	Farm & Garden Store	1,423.6	8	433.5	10	+ 990.1	10.71	>99.8*
11	Wholesale Auto Parts	1,756.5	2	1,415.5	2	+ 341.0	.12	>60.0
10	Apparel	894.0	5	747.1	7	+ 146.9	.50	>75.0*
9	Doctor	1,146.5	4	1,133.3	3	+ 13.2	.00	>50.0
8	Hotel & Motel	1,122.5	4	855.6	5	+ 266.9	.85	>80.0*
7	Dentist	1,934.0	1	1,281.3	6	+ 652.7	1.17	>80.0*
6	Appliances & Furniture	784.5	2	880.3	6	- 95.8	.07	>55.0
5	Garage, Auto, Imp. Repair	556.0	7	445.8	19	+ 110.2	1.13	>85.0*
4	Bank	948.4	5	778.4	7	+ 170.0	.60	>75.0*
3	Drug Store	737.4	11	672.8	6	+ 64.6	.05	>55.0
2	Service Station	418.6	46	288.4	13	+ 130.2	1.88	>90.0*
1	Grocery Store	262.1	17	412.4	36	- 150.3	3.12	< 5.0
0	None	183.5	24	173.2	18	+ 10.3	.05	>55.0

* Probability greater than 75 percent

Exhibit 3.8

Regression Estimates of Population Necessary for Entry of a Specified Cumulative Number of Services, 1964 and 1974



$$F = \frac{SS_{Tot} - (SS_{64} + SS_{74})}{SS_{64} + SS_{74}} \quad \frac{n - p}{m}$$

or:

$$= \frac{188.62 - (80.73 + 105.57)}{(80.73 + 105.57)} \quad \frac{352 - 4}{2}$$

$$= 2.18$$

which almost reaches the tabled value for a 90% confidence F-statistic with 2 and ∞ degrees of freedom. Thus, we have some weak statistical evidence that the regression relationship has shifted over time.

Interestingly, the regression model fits more poorly in 1974 than in 1964. R^2 declined from .752 to .733 in the latter year. The growing divergence from a simple population - number of service relationship is consistent with our observation of the Idaho situation. A single factor, dependence of the town on recreation-related business, had grown enough in importance by 1974 to result in some towns having businesses lacked by other towns of the same size. Increasing ease of transportation might also lead to divergence from the simpler explanatory model. Even with better transportation, some Idaho towns still are isolated and may tend to retain their business offering — but those towns closer to larger towns may well lose significant numbers of businesses.

You could use the regression analysis to draw inferences about threshold changes for individual items. Exhibit 3.9 tabulates the results of such a comparison. The null hypothesis being tested for each item is that the estimated population necessary for entry in 1964 is greater than the estimated necessary population in 1974:

$$H_o : \hat{P}_{64} \geq \hat{P}_{74} \text{ for a given item}$$

against the alternative hypothesis:

$$H_a : \hat{P}_{64} < \hat{P}_{74} \text{ for a given item}$$

The test results are again given as percentages — the degree of confidence we can have that the 1974 estimate exceeds the 1964 estimated population. With this procedure, 14 of 24 items gave probabilities greater than 75% (substantially higher threshold in 1974) while 8 items produced probabilities of less than 25% (substantially lower thresholds in 1974).[5]

Implications of Changing Thresholds

This analysis has produced ambiguous and occasionally contradictory evidence on the shifting of the population-service relationship. However, some fairly clear results bear a closer look. Ten items were identified by both the analysis of variance and the regression analysis procedures as probably requiring a higher population in 1974 than in 1964. Only two items were identified by both analytic methods as requiring less people. These 12 are:

Probably Require Less People in 1974

- Office supply and stationery
- Grocery store

Probably Require More People in 1974

- Wholesale groceries
- Wholesale beverages
- Music store
- Recreational services
- Florist
- Sporting goods
- Farm and garden store
- Apparel
- Garage, auto, implement repair
- Service station

Wholesale grocery and wholesale beverage outlets are two of the more interesting items in this analysis. Clearly, if small town businesses are to survive, they must keep open their supply lines. The 1964 regression estimated that a town's population should be 4124 people to support a wholesale beverage outlet and only 1858 people to support a wholesale grocery outlet. By 1974 the regression estimate of necessary population had increased to 9558 people for wholesale beverages and 11,407 people for wholesale groceries. We know the intervening decade saw chain stores extend into both large and small towns, crowding the independent grocery retailer. These grocery chains typically rely heavily on their own wholesaling apparatus. At the same time, technological change and better transportation have favored the larger more central grocery and beverage wholesaler. The result, in the Idaho environment, is that a town must now have about 10,000 people to serve any grocery-beverage wholesaling function. What does this mean for small rural towns? It means that some such towns may have lost a wholesaling function they had as recently as 10 years ago. More critically, it means that some small town retailers are having difficulty with their suppliers. In a questionnaire administered for this study, small town businessmen often cited problems of getting good treatment from their wholesale suppliers. The business of a small town grocery is of nominal importance to a large wholesaler located in a city of 10,000, but that same grocery store would have been a valued patron of a smaller wholesaler in a town of 2,000.

Another group of items with higher thresholds in 1974 can be classed as discretionary consumer goods. They are items whose purchase can be delayed until the purchaser finds just what he wants at the price he wants to pay. Items from the music store, recreational services, florist, sporting goods, and apparel have been affected most by consumer mobility. Consumers are willing to travel to a larger town to buy a musical instrument, to bowl a couple of lines, to buy a plant, to buy a rifle, or to purchase clothes. Not only is the selection better in the larger towns, but the prices are often lower because of mass merchandising. When small town retailers of such discretionary items lose the loyalty of local consumers, the establishment soon dies.

A third group of services from the list of items differs only marginally from the discretionary consumer items. These items include farm and garden store,

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[5] Unfortunately such t-tests performed on regression results are not independent tests. (The AOV tests used above were at least nominally independent although what the Guttman procedure does to that independence is not completely clear.) In the regression case, because the tests are made on estimates from a given equation, if one test shows significant results chances increase that other tests will also show significant results.

Exhibit 3.9: Regression Estimates of Population Necessary for Entry of Specific Services with Significance Tests of Change Between 1964 and 1974

		1974			1964							
		Regression Estimates of Population	Natural Log	Standard Deviation	Regression Estimates of Population	Natural Log	Standard Deviation	Change in Population	Change in Logs	Standard Deviation of Log Difference	T-ratio of Log Difference	Probabilit with which 1974 estim is higher
23	Wholesale Groceries	11,407	9.342	.1438	1858	7.527	.0679	9549	1.815	.1590	11.41	> 99.8*
22	Whse. Prof. & Ser. Equip.	9,558	9.165	.1364	7803	8.962	.1186	1755	.203	.1808	1.12	> 85.0*
21	Wholesale Beverage	9,558	9.165	.1292	4124	8.325	.0943	5434	.840	.1600	5.25	> 99.8*
20	Music Store	6,710	8.811	.1220	5672	8.643	.1062	1038	.168	.1617	1.04	> 80.0*
19	Recreational Services	5,622	8.634	.1150	3516	8.165	.0886	2106	.469	.1452	3.23	> 99.8*
18	Office Supply & Station.	5,622	8.634	.1081	6652	8.803	.1123	-1030	-.169	.1559	-1.08	< 15.0
17	Radio & T.V. Store	3,947	8.281	.1041	4836	8.484	.1002	- 889	-.203	.1445	-1.40	< 10.0
16	Variety Store	3,307	8.104	.0949	2998	8.006	.0830	309	.098	.1261	.78	> 75.0*
15	Florist	2,771	7.927	.0887	2179	7.687	.0726	592	.240	.1146	2.09	> 97.0*
14	Sporting Goods	2,321	7.750	.0828	1584	7.368	.0636	737	.382	.1044	3.66	> 99.8*
13	Hospital	1,945	7.573	.0773	1351	7.209	.0597	594	.364	.0977	3.73	> 99.8*
12	Farm & Garden Store	1,630	7.396	.0723	443	6.093	.0544	1187	1.303	.0905	14.40	> 99.8*
11	Wholesale Auto Parts	1,365	7.219	.0679	2556	7.846	.0777	-1191	-.627	.1032	-6.08	< 0.2
10	Apparel	1,144	7.042	.0642	609	6.411	.0515	535	.631	.0823	7.67	> 99.8*
9	Doctor	959	6.865	.0614	714	6.571	.0514	245	.294	.0801	3.67	> 99.8*
8	Hotel & Motel	803	6.689	.0595	982	6.890	.0540	- 179	-.201	.0803	-2.50	< 1.2
7	Dentist	673	6.512	.0588	1152	7.049	.0565	- 479	-.537	.0815	-6.59	< 0.2
6	Appliances & Furniture	564	6.335	.0591	837	6.730	.0523	- 273	-.395	.0789	-5.01	< 0.2
5	Garage, Auto, Imp. Repair	472	6.158	.0605	322	5.774	.0645	150	.384	.0884	4.34	> 99.8*
4	Bank	396	5.981	.0629	609	6.411	.0515	- 213	-.430	.0813	-5.29	< 0.2
3	Drug Store	332	5.804	.0662	377	5.933	.0571	- 45	-.129	.0874	-1.48	< 10.0
2	Service Station	278	5.627	.0703	234	5.455	.0688	44	.172	.0984	1.75	> 95.0*
1	Grocery Store	233	5.450	.0751	274	5.614	.0644	- 41	-.164	.0989	-1.66	< 10.0
0	None	195	5.273	.0804	199	5.296	.0736	- 4	-.023	.1090	- .21	< 45.0

*Probability greater than 75%

garage, auto, and implement repair, and service station. These items differ in the degree of discretion allowed the consumer. One often has immediate need for a fence post or a tool, for auto or machinery repair, and for gas. These types of services have a very strong bond of necessity with the small town. Yet even here we see the rising threshold levels. Even these immediate needs are price responsive. People are willing to pay only so much to buy locally, and because of retailing technologies such as discount hardware stores and cut rate gas stations, the consumers can often buy things much cheaper in a nearby larger town. The small town merchant is left trying to cater to only the most immediate needs of the community — which often doesn't give him sufficient volume and profit to continue in business.

Two other items identified by the regression analysis as having higher population thresholds in 1974 are hospitals and doctors. Here also changing technology has had a profound effect. Specialization has restricted the flow of general practitioners into small town practice. The costs of operating a modern hospital tend to be prohibitive for a small town. As a result, even though people want a nearby doctor and hospital, the trend is quite clearly in the other direction. The apparent entry of dentists into smaller Idaho towns might be an anomaly in the data — but it might also be a reflection of the lesser degree of technological change in dental services. We still have general practitioner family dentists.

The two items which both the analysis of variance and regression procedures identified as requiring less people in 1974 were office supply and stationery, and grocery store. Grocery stores are an especially interesting case, resting at the bottom of the 1974 hierarchical ordering. Many kinds of grocery purchases are discretionary as to timing. Most staples can be bought in quantity on once a week or twice a month shopping trips to a larger town. However, even with good planning, one wants to make spur of the moment purchases or buy perishables that don't lend themselves to twice a month shopping. Thus, small town grocery stores seem to have a viable economic niche. Even as some of the smallest towns lose population, they retain their grocery stores. (The neighborhood convenience grocery stores occupy a similar economic niche in urban areas where they cater to sudden consumer whims such as beer, cigarettes, milk, and potato chips at high prices, by offering a convenient nearby location and long hours.) This is not to say that all small town groceries are successful businesses — many have not adjusted readily to their new role as neighborhood convenience stores and are still resentful that they can't compete on the staples. Some of the responses to the questionnaire (discussed in more detail in chapter 5) are interesting at this point. The consumers have also not adjusted to the new economic climate for grocery stores. Complaints about both the prices and offering of local grocery stores were common — an understandable expression of regret that things are not as they once were. Many consumers commented that their town needs a supermarket or even a discount food store. One suspects that a much more feasible solution would be to continue to drive to a larger town for staples, and to encourage the entry of a well-managed small convenience grocery store for spur of the moment needs and perishables.

The case of office supply and stationery is a bit harder to explain. Perhaps our growing mania for birthday, sympathy and get well cards allows these stores to survive in smaller towns than a decade ago.

The Service-Population Relationship: A Model for Prediction?

So far our use of the service-population relationship has been largely analytic: it has told us a bit about how the real world is put together, but does not necessarily help us in predicting what will happen to a given town in a particular situation.

Having the model could help us predict changes over time. This would be useful. Remember, however, that we have already given evidence that the relationship might shift over time. In addition, Peterson (21) has offered evidence that the relationship may differ somewhat between growing and declining towns. Perhaps these changes only result from lags in the adjustment process, or perhaps further research might reveal other underlying factors. At any rate, we need to be very cautious in applying the model to any given small town.

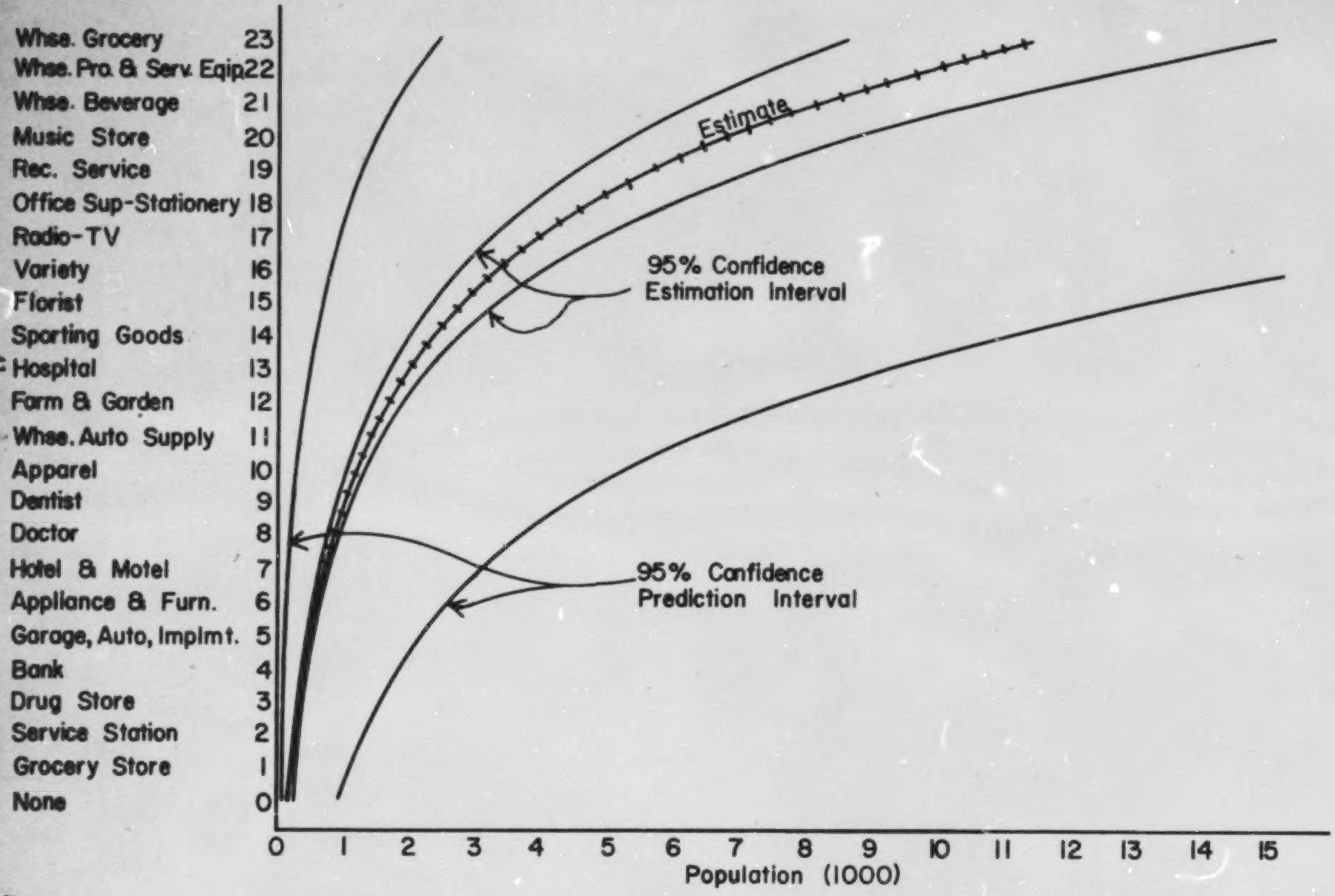
If, for example, we want to predict how large a town must become to support a doctor, we might be tempted to turn to our model. We would note that the 1974 regression estimate of town size to support a doctor was 959 people. If we examine that regression estimate a bit more, we note that 95% estimation confidence bounds are the interval from 850 people to 1080 people. Thus, a "typical" town just large enough for a doctor would be in that interval. Note that this interval is for a typical town. The actual range of towns just at the threshold would be the even wider 95% prediction confidence interval from 207 people to 4430 people. The estimation and prediction intervals for all 23 services in 1974 are given in Exhibit 3.10.

Obviously, our statistical results are too imprecise to be able to derive statements such as "if town x gains 300 more people it will be able to support a dentist". Of course, the real problem is that a lot of factors other than population determine whether a given town will support a given business. A more complex statistical model might actually measure the effect of some of these factors such as proximity to other towns, economic characteristics of the town, social linkages, and established purchasing patterns of the town. Still other factors would probably defy any attempts at inclusion in a model, such as the personality, desired lifestyle, and family background of the person entering into business in the town. While a model which completely explains service presence is clearly impossible, further work by the authors will attempt to incorporate some of the measurable determinants into a more precise and thus more useful model.

In its current state, the model does tell us some things. It gives us a fair idea of the order in which services enter a town. Thus we could look at the service offering of a given town and say which additional service would be the most likely one to enter, or which existing item would the town be most likely to lose, as the town grows or declines. The model also emphasizes the "errors" — those businesses which are present in a town which our model says shouldn't

Exhibit 3.10

95 Percent Prediction and Estimation Intervals for 1974 Regression Estimates of Population Necessary for Entry of a Specific Service



be there and those businesses which are absent which should be present. Many times these "errors" can be easily explained. A mining town may never have a feed store, no matter how big it grows. Still, these errors are businesses worth looking at. The business that is present when it shouldn't be should be looked at to see what special circumstances or business practices have allowed it to survive, and to see if it is in danger of folding. Potential businesses that are absent might be viewed as business opportunities although one would also need to be aware of any special circumstances. In this way, the information in this chapter can be useful to present and prospective community businessmen.

Chapter IV

Diseconomies of Small Size and the Cost of Outmigration

The decade of the 1960's saw a growing interest in the problems of rural community development. Yet the same decade also witnessed a continued net outmigration from many rural areas and a consequent worsening of the problem of providing adequate local government services to small scale rural communities.

The Scenario of Decline

The situation was summarized in an ERS study prepared for the Senate Committee on Government Operations:

> "About 1350 counties had such heavy outmigration during the 1960's that they declined in population. However, this is an improvement over the 1950's when 1500 counties decreased. For both periods, the losing counties were overwhelmingly rural in character. The declining counties are heavily concentrated in the Great Plains and Corn Belt, the heart of Appalachia, and sections of the Southern Coastal Plains. The great majority of rural counties in the Northeast, and East North-Central States and the Far West, gained in both the 1950's and 1960's" (23, p. 28).

and in a consulting study prepared for the National Water Commission:

> "This is not to say that small communities outside metropolitan regions are unviable. Many have sound economic bases. Moreover, their residents can, at a cost and perhaps with considerable public subsidy, enjoy a high quality of life. Moreover America's excellent product distribution system and ubiquitous mass media allow the residents of these communities to be exposed to developments in the larger society with perhaps somewhat less choice than in metropolitan regions.
>
> "But our concern here is with growth and with the potential to grow. We cannot help but conclude that, given the already high state of integration in the metropolitan space economy, those communities which by circumstances find themselves small and outside the metropolitan orbit are by nature inhibited from undergoing significant population increase. And they are fated — lacking some level of infusion of public capital far greater than any measures presently under consideration — to lose their young and most ambitious citizens to larger or more metropolitan settlements" (19, p. 35).

This is a pessimistic tone — stagnation or actual decline for small rural communities — but hard to discredit.[6]

Such trends always have exceptions, such as the indication of growth evident in certain parts of the Snake River Basin of Southern Idaho subsequent to the 1970 Census. However, these exceptions tend to be based on nearness to expanding urban centers, on outstanding environmental amenities, or on the happenstance effects of industry or government project location — and do not contradict the situation of decline faced by many small rural communities. More typical the Northern Idaho town with no local health services; the Central Idaho town that required four tries to pass a sewer bond election needed before EPA requirements could be met; the Southern Idaho town that built its sewer system and then had its milk processing plant close leaving bond repayment in the hands of its dwindling resident population; or the Southern Idaho town with a high school barely big enough to fill all the positions on its football team.

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[6] Somewhat more optimistic notes have, in fact, emerged recently in the literature including Beale (3,4). The tone of optimism, however, does not mean that small towns are thriving.

People have an embryonic concern with national population policy, including population distribution policy, which was given early legitimacy by the President's Commission on Population Growth and the American Future (8). Migration is the major "policy-sensitive" mechanism by which population distribution is adjusted. Hence the search for optimal population policies requires that we understand the social and economic effects of migration-caused growth or decline in these small rural communities.

This chapter is focused on providing measures of some of the economic costs of outmigration and community decline. Cross-section county data are used to examine the relation between community size, migration, and the expenditure patterns of local governments. The objective is to extend some of the economies of size work which appears in the literature, and to probe deeper into its implications for outmigration and community decline.

The Cost of Decline: Diseconomies of Small Size, Excess Capacity

The existence of economies of size in the provision of certain community services has been reasonably well documented.[7] A New Jersey study using survey data from towns and cities found that:

> "Within the growth category of declining and slowly growing communities, smaller (100-1,000) communities experience higher levels of total per capita costs due to excessive start up costs and the inability to reach a servicing threshold wherein economies of consumption may contribute to servicing efficiency.
>
> "Communities from 1,000-10,000, however, have overcome start up costs and, within this range, reach a point of servicing efficiency which enables their per capita costs to be lower than any of those communities similarly experiencing a declining population.
>
> "In the moderately growing communities, again those with smaller population bases (100-5,000) experience increased levels of per capita cost (200-$215) characteristic of their start up functions. As community size increases to a point approaching 10,000 a condition of servicing efficiency ($80-$100 per capita) is reached which remains in evidence throughout the larger categories of size" (22, p. 132).

The idea is that a moderate amount (a high fixed cost) is needed to set up the facilities and permanent personnel to produce local government services for even a small community. A county generally maintains a courthouse and administrative staff irrespective of whether the county has 1,000 or 100,000 people. A local road system to serve 50,000 may not be much more costly than a system serving 20,000 people. To provide the same services to a larger population often involves only a relatively small increment to total cost (a low marginal cost). If you have economies of size, then the per capita cost of providing services becomes lower as the size of the community increases. Some studies purport to show diseconomies of size as the community gets too large but this is a moot point since this paper focuses on small rural communities. The per capita cost curve as described above should have the form shown in Exhibit 4.1, which implies a total cost curve with the shape shown in Exhibit 4.2.

Economies of size is a relatively long run concept related to the cost of providing services to a community of a given size, apart from any short run costs of adjusting to changes in community size. Outmigration and the resulting drop in population may leave a community with the high per capita cost of maintaining redundant public services built to serve a larger population, while inmigration requires that costly new facilities be built. We must rely on empirical results to show us the net effect of migration on cost of providing community services.

A basic assumption of this discussion is that the same bundle and the same quality of services are being provided to a community, regardless of population level or migration status. Even casual observation tells us this is not so. Small rural communities often lack access to services or consume services whose quality is inferior to those that are taken for granted in a more urban area. Schools may have inferior teaching and offer less variety; medical services frequently are deficient; public transportation may be lacking; and roads may be rudimentary, to name just a few of the service differences. The Sternlieb study found that:

> ". . . declining and slow growth communities (-5 to 2% annually) demonstrate almost identical patterns of internal expenditure distribution within the three areas of major governmental service: government administration, public safety, and public works. In the smaller of these communities 85% of municipal expenditures are distributed among these three areas, the bulk of which are shared by government administration and public works. As the population base increases within these communities the previous dominance of these two functions is replaced by a heavy emphasis on public safety. Moving from smaller to larger communities within this growth grouping, there is also a shift with increased size towards expenditures in the areas of recreation and culture (5 to 8%). The extra allocation toward these areas comes directly from expenditures previously slotted for the government administration/public safety/public works group. Where this group occupied 85% of a small municipality's budget, in larger cities the figure is more frequently 75%" (22 p. 135).

Migration patterns also affect the composition of the service bundle. Migration is often a phenomenon of the young adult, so that outmigration areas must educate a disproportionate number of children and care for disproportionate numbers of aged and infirm.[8]

---

[7] Articles by Fettig (12) and by Hady (13) provide an entry into the literature on scale economies in the provision of public services.

[8] An interesting example of a theoretical treatment of some related problems is found in Aaron (1).

Exhibit 4.1

Hypothetical Per Capita Cost Curve for a Community

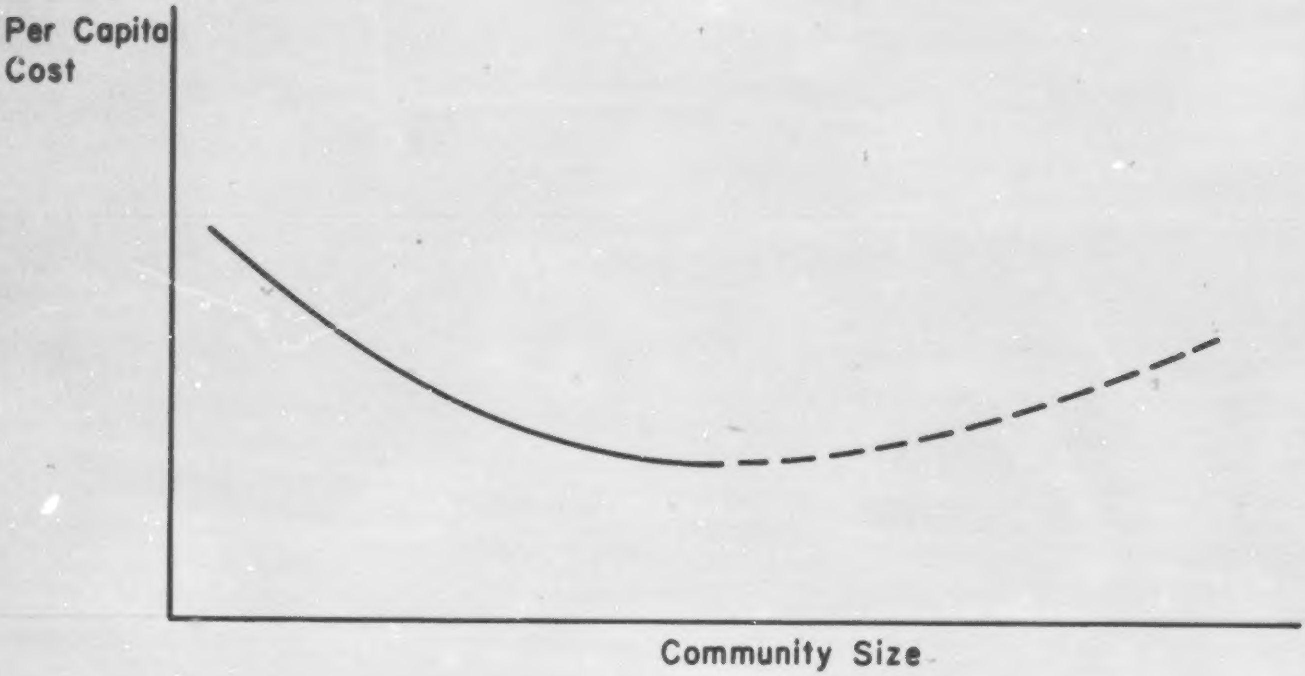
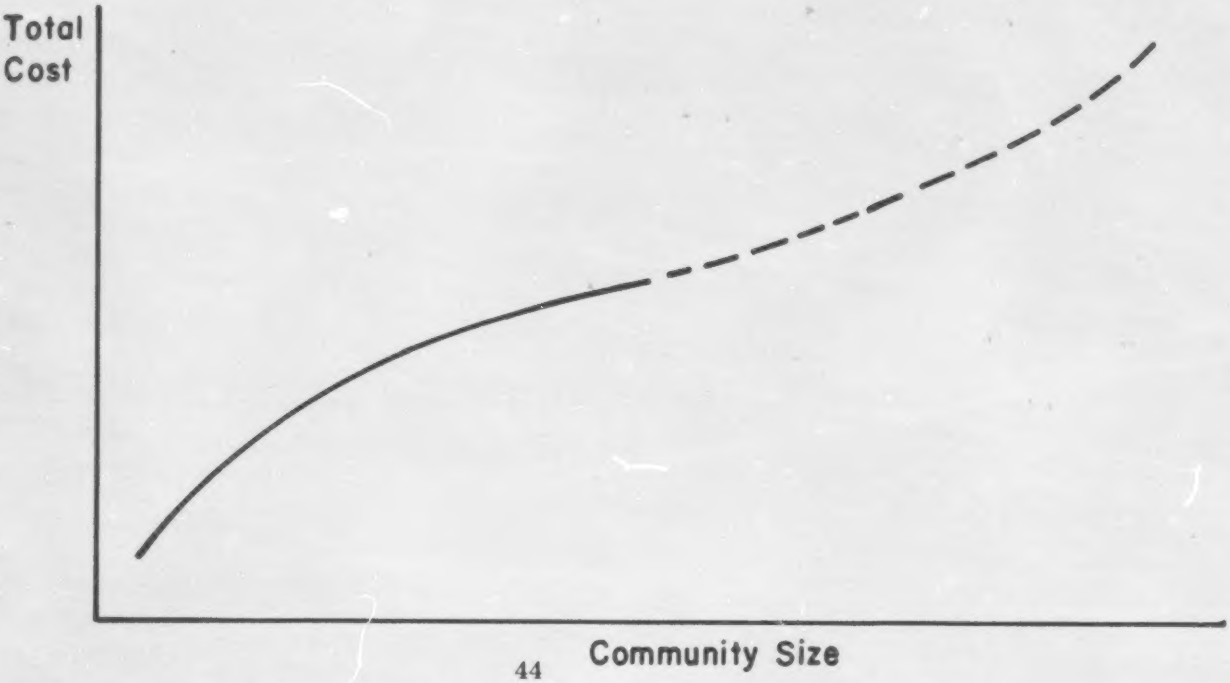


Exhibit 4.2

Hypothetical Total Cost Curve for a Community



In fairness, however, one must add that small communities have amenities — greater personal attention from public servants, better access to some kinds of recreation, and often the fierce loyalty of their residents. Many small community residents would willingly forego the so-called amenities of a metropolitan area for the environment of the small community. The lack of a given service in a small community may result as much from the resident's decision that the service is not wanted as from the community's inability to pay for it.

Both cost of providing a given service and the composition of the bundle of services provided depend on the size of the community and on the community's migration patterns. The overall effect of size and migration on community spending patterns must be deduced empirically.

Statistical Results for Idaho Counties

The overall relationship implied by the above discussion is:

$$C = f(P, M)$$

The cost of providing community services (C) is some function of community size of population (P) and migration (M).

The relationship was investigated using cross-section county data. The 1967 Census of Governments shows expenditures by the various units of local government within each county. This is the most readily available cost of services data. The 1960 and 1970 Census of Population reports are the sources for migration and population data. Using these definitions of variables, and assigning a linear equation form, the relation becomes:

$$E_{67} = b_0 + b_1 \quad P_{70} + b_2 \quad M_{60\text{-}70} + e$$

where E_{67} is direct general expenditure by all local government units in a county in 1967, P_{70} is county population in 1970, and $M_{60\text{-}70}$ is net migration into a county between 1960 and 1970. This basic equation form was estimated using two different statistical procedures, and several alternative breakdowns of the Census of Governments data.

At the time the statistical work for this section was done, the 1967 data were the most recent available. The comparable 1972 data have since been released and are being examined using techniques similar to those reported here. These 1972 results will be published as they become available.

Model Ia

For model Ia, the expenditure variable was defined as total direct general expenditure by local governments within each county (including capital outlay). The equation coefficients were estimated by ordinary least squares (OLS) regression. The results are shown in Exhibit 4.3.

At first glance these OLS results for model Ia look quite good. The R^2 was .978, signifying a very close fit between model and data. Moreover the t-tests of the coefficients show significant differences from zero for the population coefficient and for the migration coefficient. The population coefficient is positive, and the migration coefficient is negative, a plausible empirical results. The positive population coefficient is smaller than the average per capita expenditure, which is suggestive of economies of scale. The negative migration coefficient implies that, for counties with the same 1970 population, the one with higher outmigration will incur more expenditures, as expected.

However, the OLS results have both theoretical and empirical problems. The model could be expected to show moderate heteroskedasticity. Large model errors in predicting expense levels are more tolerable in large counties than in small ones. Another problem is encountered if we try to use the OLS results to analyze the effects of alternative migration levels on expenses in a given county. For this interesting policy question, the results do not conform to our a priori expectations. For example, the Idaho equation implies that 1,000 inmigration to a county would drop expenditures by $281,490 through the action of coefficient b_2. In this case, population would rise by 1,000, and coefficient b_1 would increase expenditures by $200,950. The net effect of 1,000 new people on the Idaho county would be an expense saving of $80,540 — clearly at variance with our a priori expectation that more people would involve at least some more cost because new facilities and services would be needed. The equations of two other states also showed this same violation of a priori expectations. These implausible coefficients result either from the heteroskedasticity or they just demonstrate the danger of using cross section correlations to estimate causal relationships for one county. To deal with the heteroskedasticity problem, model Ib was developed.

Model Ib

This model uses the same equation and the same variables as model Ia. The coefficients were estimated using weighted least squares (WLS), weighting each county observation by the inverse of that county's population. Examination of the WLS results shows that the theoretical reason for heteroskedasticity was eliminated at the expense of a slight deterioration of model fit. (OLS will always give the best fit when measured by the criterion of sum of squared deviations.) The significance of the migration coefficient also deteriorated although the coefficient still shows the expected negative sign. The results no longer exhibit the violation of a priori expectations outlined here. The results of model Ib are discussed more fully later.

Model Ic

One reason for the less than ideal showing of models Ia and Ib is that the expenditure variable included capital outlay expenses by local governments. Capital outlay may be "lumpy" — large expenses being made one year to finance some large purchase, and smaller capital purchases in other years. The Census of Governments figures for non-capital spending only were used as the dependent variable in model Ic. Capital outlay is, of course, a very real item in local government expenditure, and can't be conveniently ignored. If, however, the non-capital spending model works well, this can be taken as additional verification of the underlying model — that expenses depend on population and migration.[9]

---

[9] A related study that deals exclusively with capital spending and town growth pattern is Bills and Barkley (5).

Exhibit 4.3. Regression Models of Local Government Education Expenditures for Idaho.[1]

Model	Per Capita Spending	Coefficients[2]			
		Constant	Population	Migration	R^2
Ia (OLS, all spending)	267.26	182,760	200.95 (42.83)	-281.49 (6.32)	.978
Ib (WLS, all spending)	267.26	181,890 (6.20)	218.63	-111.95 (1.85)	.959
Ic (WLS, non-capital spending)	226.06	157,450 (6.78)	182.91	-105.98 (2.21)	.976
IIa (WLS, all education spending)	142.06	72,010 (3.02)	120.01	- 68.24 (1.39)	.939
IIb (WLS, non-capital education spending)	120.92	67,370 (5.22)	98.66	- 77.77 (2.93)	.985

[1] Boise County, with a 1970 population of 1,763 is one of the smaller Idaho counties. Its expenditure pattern differed so markedly from that of other counties that it was excluded from further study.

[2] Numbers in parentheses are t-ratios. Because of peculiarities of the estimation methods used, t-ratios were not computed for the intercept of the OLS equation or for the population coefficient of the WLS equation. All t-ratios indicating a 95 percent confidence level are marked by a *.

Model Ic was estimated using the WLS method noted previously. The results in most cases show better model fit than model Ib, and better significance for the migration coefficient. This can be taken as evidence that the lumpiness of capital spending was causing some problems in the previous model. While explaining only the non-capital portion of spending is only half a model, it does strengthen the case that the overall model is valid.

Model IIa and IIb

Models Ia, Ib and Ic demonstrate the validity of assuming expenditures for the entire bundle of local government services are related to population and migration. Further validity for the model can be claimed if such a relation also holds for some subset of that service bundle. Census of Governments data provide data on education expenditures, both total spending and non-capital spending, which were used as dependent variables in models IIa and IIb. These models were also estimated by the WLS method.

Both models IIa and IIb perform respectably, although eliminating the lumpy capital spending causes the latter model to fit better. These results tend to confirm that economies of scale and costs of outmigration are as valid for the education subset as for the total bundle of local government services.

Conclusions About the Relation of Expenditures to Population and Migration

These statistical results are very tentative and suffer from some arbitrariness of analytic technique, but some conclusions can be drawn from them. Model Ib is the more satisfactory equation for explaining total expenditures of local governments in 1967.

The cost curves in Exhibit 4.4 result from model Ib. The constant economies of size line shows what the total cost relationship for a county would look like if per capita spending were constant, no matter what the size of the county. The size effect curve gives the expected total expenditures for counties of various size under the assumption of zero net migration, and presumably in the long run after all the effects of previous migration have worked themselves out. As will be shown, the lesser slope and positive intercept of the size effect line is evidence of economies of size.

The migration effect curve shows the added effect which migration has on local government cost structure. The curve is derived by selecting a given size (15,000 is used in Exhibit 4.4) and then computing cost changes as migration shifts population away from that base point. Exhibit 4.4 shows that the local government expenditures in an Idaho county with no net migration and 15,000 people would be $3,461,337. Net inmigration of 2,000 people would increase population to 17,000 and would raise total expenditures by $213,360 to $3,674,697. Similarly, net outmigration of 1,000 people would drop population to 14,000 and would allow an expenditure reduction by $106,680 to $3,354,657. Using various base populations would result in a family of migration effect curves each parallel to the one shown in Exhibit 4.4. For a county of any given size, the corresponding migration effect curve would be used to show the impact as migration produces population changes.

Total cost changes produced by migration are only part of the story. Change in per capita expenditures is probably a better measure of the burden of such population shifts. Exhibit 4.5 shows the per capita curves which result when the total cost curves are divided by population. The hyperbolic shape of the curve is, of course, the mathematical result from the assumption of a linear regression line. Yet, from among the family of possible hyperbolic curves, the ones resulting from the Idaho regression make very good sense as a per capita cost curve. The sharp economies of size indicated in Exhibit 4.5 are consistent with what we know about the problems of small communities. (Mathematically, the sharply plunging line indicative of scale economies is the result of the significantly positive regression intercept.) The even sharper per capita impact of migration-induced population change is obvious in Exhibit 4.5. For the county with 15,000 people and no net migration, per capita expenditures would be $230.76. The inmigration of 2,000 people would cut per capita expenditures to $216.16, while outmigration of 1,000 people would boost per capita spending to $239.62. These example changes are summarized in Exhibit 4.6.

In the course of the research, per capita cost curves were derived using model Ib for each of the 11 western states. These results are shown in another paper (15). Excepting aberrant results for Arizona and Utah, the cost curves follow rather closely the results for Idaho. The states show varying degrees of economies of size, from nearly none for Nevada, to quite pronounced for Colorado and Oregon counties. The apparent strong diseconomies of size for Arizona counties is a statistical fluke, produced because Arizona's counties are quite large, the smallest having a 1970 population of 10,330. This means that the portion of the Arizona curve for counties smaller than 10,000 to 15,000 people can be ignored since it is outside the range of the data used in its estimation. Furthermore, the negative regression intercepts which dictate the aberrant shapes of the Arizona and Utah curves are nonsignificant according to a t-test. The migration effect results also follow quite closely the Idaho results — a cost being imposed by outmigration. Again the results for Arizona are deviant, but since the migration regression coefficient for Arizona is nonsignificant, these results can be ignored.

The weight of the evidence seems to support the contention that small communities suffer from significant diseconomies of size, and that outmigration imposes an additional burden of increased cost on those people who remain.

Implications for Policy

If these conclusions are correct, then the dilemma of the small community becomes obvious. To maintain the same level of community services as available in other larger communities may cost so much that the tax burden itself would contribute to further outmigration. The reduced level of community services dictated by ability to pay may also encourage people to move elsewhere.

The continued existence of small towns results from two forces. First, these small towns are near the

Exhibit 4.4

Effect of Size and Migration on Total Expenditures of Local Government in Idaho

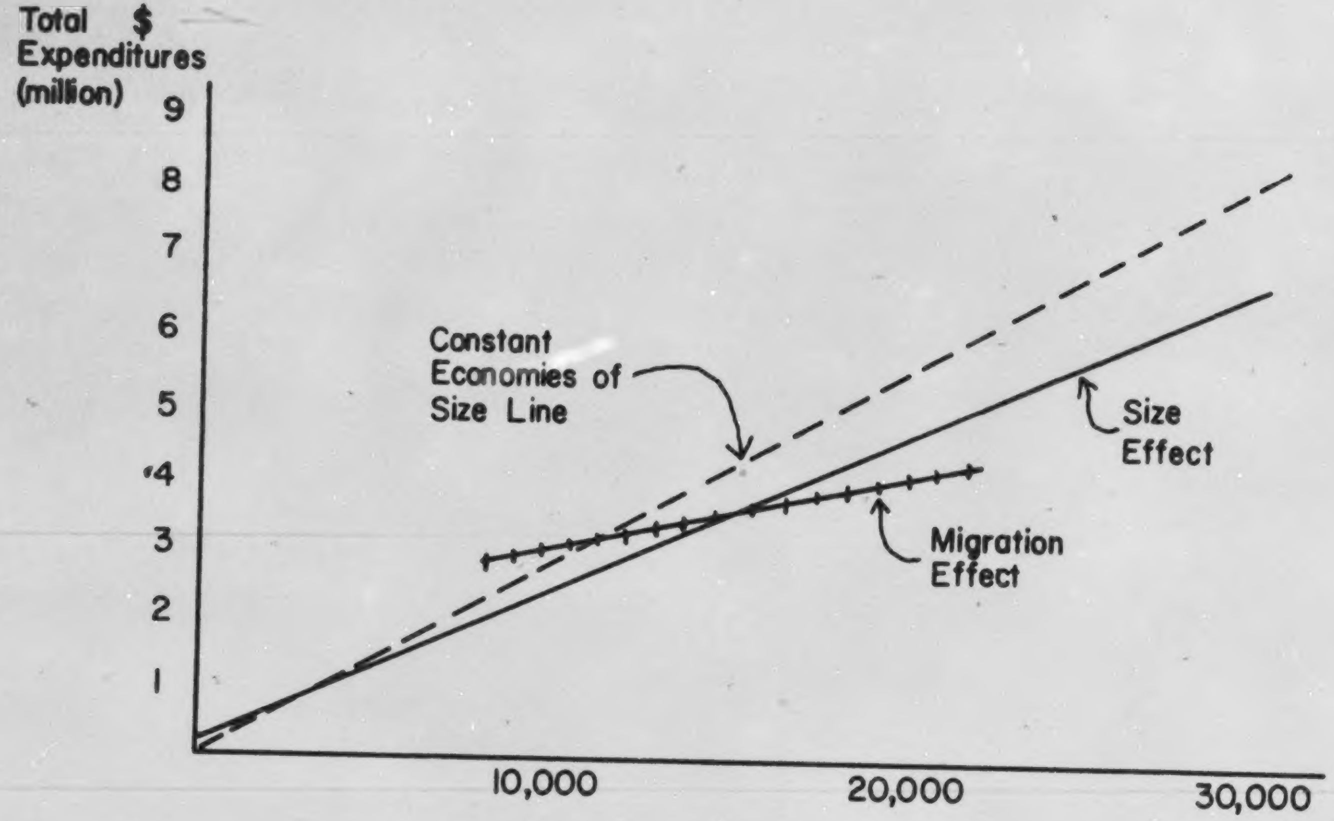


Exhibit 4.5

Effect of Size and Migration on Per Capita Expenditures of Local Governments in Idaho

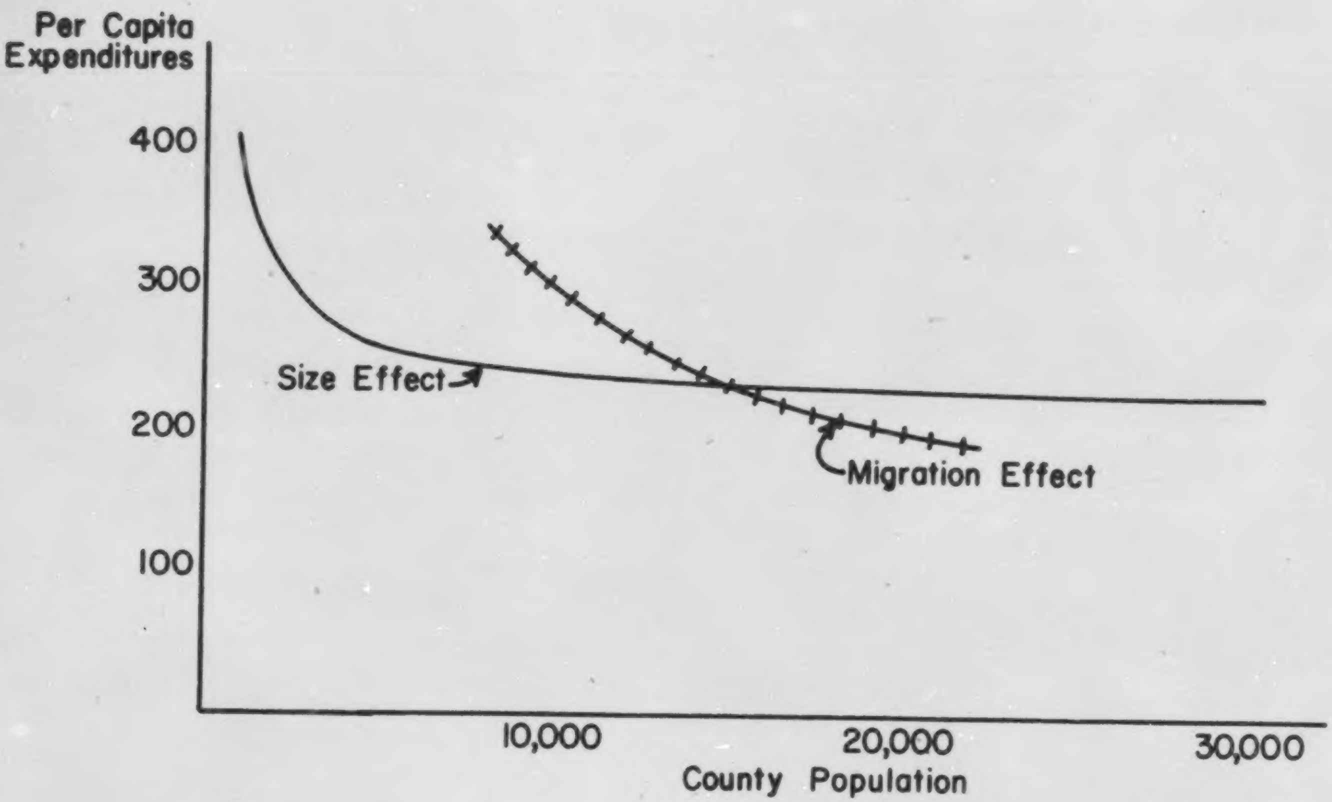


Exhibit 4.6. Examples of the Effect of Migration on Expenditures by Local Governments in an Idaho County with a Population of 15,000

	Base Status (no migration)	Inmigration Example	Outmigration Example
Net Migration	0	+ 2,000	- 1,000
Resulting Population	15,000	17,000	14,000
Total Expenditure	$3,461,337	$3,674,697	$3,354,657
Per Capita Expenditure	$ 230.76	$ 216.16	$ 239.62

site of employment in industries such as agriculture, mining, forestry, and outdoor recreation. And second, the amenities of natural and social environment in small towns are so sought after that people are willing to pay a price in terms of less adequate and more expensive services to live there. Historically these forces have been too weak to stem the outmigration from some areas, although recent evidence suggests a turnaround (3,4).

If society says that small communities are worth saving — that everyone living in communities ranging from moderate cities to Megalopolis would be bad - then a conscious population distribution policy commitment is required. We can provide more good jobs in rural areas. We need to do better than we have been doing under the heading of rural development. And we can continue to develop subsidy structures that allow small communities to offer a range of community services that will hold and attract residents without imposing an impossible tax burden. If society needs to — or wants to — preserve small communities, then it must continue to assume a part of the burden of supporting them.

Chapter V

Six Small Towns in Idaho

Previous chapters have attempted to give a broad overview of the problems of small communities, using aggregate data from several Idaho counties and towns. This chapter focuses more precisely on some representative Idaho small towns and their specific problems. The six towns chosen for more intensive study were Priest River, Cottonwood, and Riggins in northern Idaho and Shoshone, Oakley, and Malad in southern Idaho (Exhibit 5.1.)

The Six Towns

Several factors led to the choice of these six towns for further study. Because our interest is primarily in declining communities, five of the six survey towns show population declines between 1960 and 1970 and are located in counties showing population declines (Exhibit 5.2). Consideration was also given to selecting towns representing a diversity of economic bases and towns which seemed to the researchers to have interesting problems. Important also was our evaluation of the ease with which data could be obtained from the local community and the cooperativeness of local leaders. Information about these six towns was collected from published sources, from conversations with local people, and from questionnaires administered to local business people and to a sample of the residents.

Short histories and descriptions of the six survey towns are presented here.[10] A flavor of what the towns are like can be gained from reading the open-ended questionnaire responses provided as an appendix to this report.

Priest River

The town of Priest River is located on the Pend Oreille River at its confluence with the Priest River, seven miles from the Washington State border and about 90 miles from Canada. The town is in Bonner County which has its county seat about 30 miles away at Sandpoint. The distance between Priest River and Spokane is about 50 miles, giving Priest River residents access, along good two-lane highways, to a metropolitan area of over a quarter million people.

The original Priest River inhabitants settled in the town in 1891 when the Great Northern Railroad passed through the river valley. Predating the railroad, fur trader David Thompson operated a fur trading business in the area. Possibly his skills in accurately mapping this area contributed to the valley's choice as mail and freight route to western Montana gold fields.

The same year the railroad came, this flag station was granted a post office. Within 10 years population had grown to approximately 50 inhabitants and the subsequent three years saw an influx of people resulting from the establishment of three sawmills.

The Federal Writers Project guidebook noted:

> ". . . is the gateway of the Priest Lake country. This town has an Italian colony, noted for its weedless gardens; a sawmill that specializes in white pine lumber of exceptional quality for interior woodwork, and a tourist traffic that is rapidly increasing" (10, p. 271).

The economic base of Priest River spans more than timber, taking in some agriculture (mainly ranching and dairying) and a tourist industry. Priest Lake, 30 miles to the north, is probably the least developed of the three large north Idaho lakes. It does have moderate lakeshore cabin development in some parts but most of the remaining open shore is publicly owned, and probably will not be developed. Priest River which connects the lake with the town is currently under study for possible classification under the National Wild and Scenic Rivers system. The surrounding Selkirk Mountain countryside is composed mostly of state and federal forest lands and offers recreation opportunities in a relatively unimproved setting. The town of Priest River is situated on Pend Oreille Lake, several miles upstream from Albeni Falls Dam, so there is a great, but undeveloped potential for leisure and fishing expedition boat launching facilities.

After the survey described in this report was completed in the fall of 1973, a fire destroyed several buildings in Priest River's older business district. This district had originally grown up along U.S. 2 as it passed near the waterfront. This district was slowly being abandoned before the fire for the more advantageous strip along the new U.S. 2 route several blocks up the hillside from the river. The strip now includes several gas stations, a new grocery store, and a bank. Whether the fire will accelerate shift of business locations to the new district or simply cause the abandonment of some local businesses has not yet been determined.

Cottonwood

Cottonwood, the oldest town included in this study, began in 1862 as a stage stop on the way to the gold fields of the Florence Mining District. Most shipments in and out of the mining district were sent over this route. Agricultural development proceeded as the influx of miners demanded greater supplies. As the mining camps to the south flourished and faded, so did the agricultural prospects of the prairie until the mining fields played out. Those pioneers who remained turned to agriculture: farming and stock raising. Of course the Nez Perce War of 1877 was un-

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[10] Additional historical material can be found in the literature cited (7,9,10,11,16,17, and 18).

Exhibit 5.1

Map of the Six Idaho Towns Selected for Intensive Survey

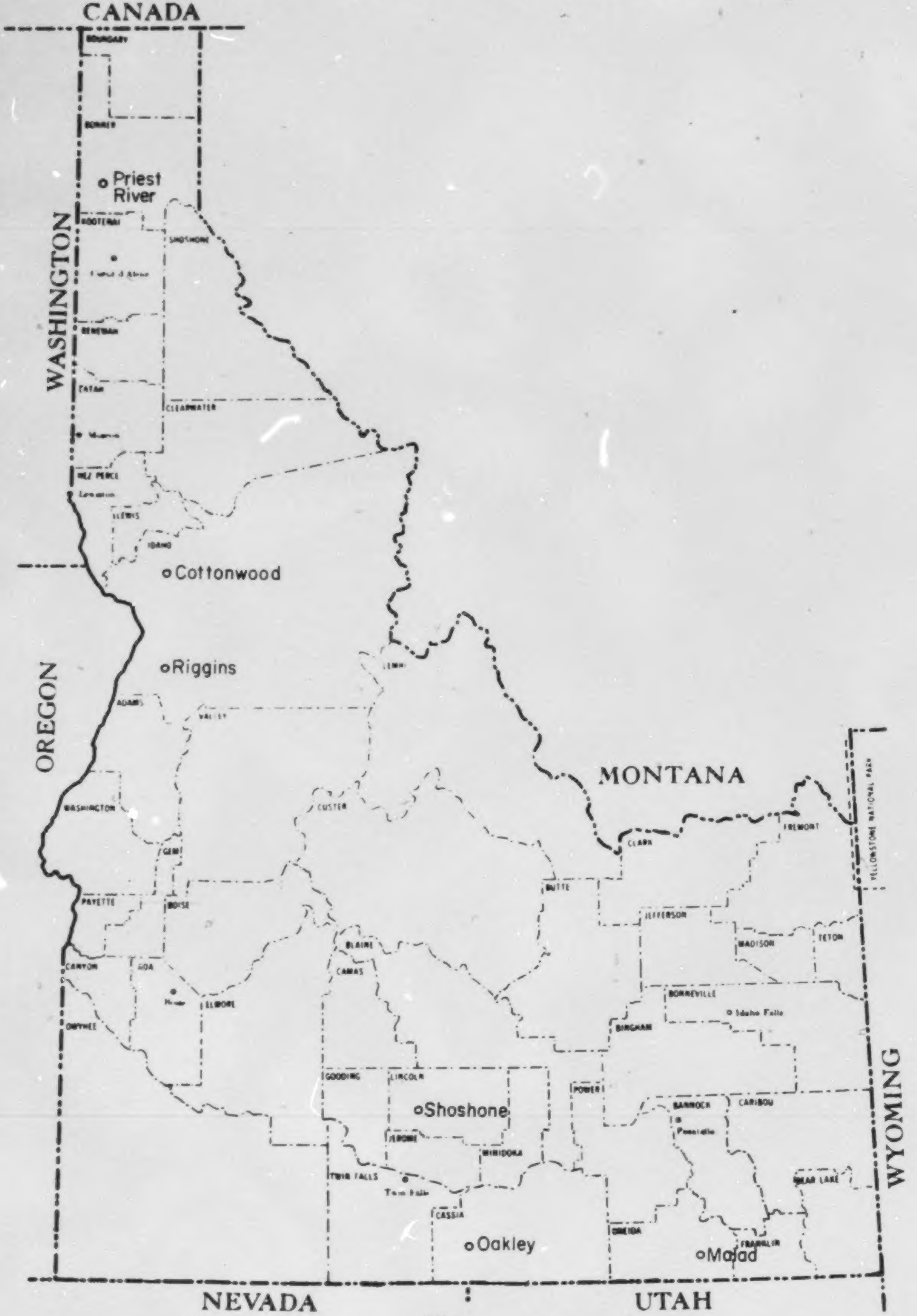

CANADA
WASHINGTON
OREGON
MONTANA
WYOMING
NEVADA
UTAH
BOUNDARY
BONNER
Priest River
KOOTENAI
SHOSHONE
Coeur d'Alene
BENEWAH
LATAH
CLEARWATER
Moscow
NEZ PERCE
Lewiston
LEWIS
IDAHO
Cottonwood
Riggins
LEMHI
ADAMS
VALLEY
WASHINGTON
CUSTER
GEM
PAYETTE
BOISE
BUTTE
CLARK
FREMONT
YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK
JEFFERSON
MADISON
TETON
BLAINE
CAMAS
CANYON
ADA
Boise
ELMORE
OWYHEE
BONNEVILLE
Idaho Falls
BINGHAM
GOODING
LINCOLN
Shoshone
POWER
BANNOCK
CARIBOU
Pocatello
JEROME
MINIDOKA
TWIN FALLS
Twin Falls
CASSIA
Oakley
BEAR LAKE
ONEIDA
FRANKLIN
Malad

Exhibit 5.2: Historical County & Town Populations[1]

	1970	1960	1950	1940	1930	1920
Cottonwood	867	1081	689	673	503*	NA
% Change	- 19.8%	+ 56.9%	+ 2.4%	+ 33.8%		
Riggins	533	588	287	NA	83*	NA
% Change	- 9.4%	+ 51.2%				
Idaho County	12,891	13,542	11,423	12,691	10,107	11,749
% Change	- 4.8%	+ 18.6%	- 10.0%	+ 25.6%	- 14.0%	- 5.1
Malad	1848	2274	2715	2731	2535	2598
% Change	- 18.7%	- 16.2%	- 0.6%	+ 7.7%	- 2.4%	+ 99.4
Oneida County	2864	3603	4387	5417	5870	6723
% Change	- 20.5%	- 17.9%	- 19.7%	- 7.7%	- 12.7%	- 55.7
Oakley	656	613	684	813	732*	NA
% Change	+ 7.0%	- 1.0%	- 15.9%	+ 11.1%		
Cassia County	17,017	16,121	14,629	14,430	13,116	15,659
% Change	+ 5.6%	+ 10.2%	+ 1.4%	+ 10.0%	- 13.2%	+110.0
Priest River	1493	1749	1592	1056	1110*	NA
% Change	- 14.6%	+ 9.9%	+ 5.1%	- 0.5%		
Bonner County	15,560	15,587	14,853	15,667	13,152	12,957
% Change	- 0.2%	+ 4.9%	- 5.2%	+ 19.1%	+ 1.5%	- 0.5
Shoshone	1233	1416	1420	1366	1211	NA
% Change	- 12.6%	- 2.8%	+ 3.9%	+ 12.8%		
Lincoln County	3057	3686	4256	4230	3242	3446
% Change	- 17.1%	- 13.4%	+ 0.6%	+ 30.5%	- 5.9%	- 72.8%

*Reported precinct population less reported rural population

[1] Source: Census of Population

settling but by 1891 the area supported a substantial population. Area residents were making plans to secure a monastery.

In 1901 the village of Cottonwood was incorporated and seven years later the Benedictine Fathers constructed their first temporary monastery. In this same year the Camas Prairie Railroad reached as far as Grangeville and by 1912 passenger service between Lewiston and Cottonwood was scheduled. However, 1922 was the year the final contract was awarded which when complete would connect Cottonwood with Lewiston.

In Cottonwood one can also see the major role played by the transportation system. The rich grain-producing prairies nearby are dotted by small towns at about six to eight miles distant from each other — in a pattern recognized by those familiar with the Great Plains states. This was a reasonable distance for a farmer traveling to town by horse and wagon; it was a reasonable distance between stops on a stage route; and it was a pattern reinforced by the interval between stops on the railroad. Traveling the route of U.S. 95, today, one sees the interval in the progression from Lewiston to Spalding to Lapwai to Culdesac to Winchester to Craigmont to Ferdinand to Cottonwood to Fenn to Grangeville. Excepting Lewiston and Grangeville on either end, Cottonwood has been among the more successful of these towns. Some, like Fenn and Denver no longer play much role in the transportation net and have faded into obscurity.

Cottonwood has had varied outside influences which have affected its economy over the years. In 1925 the Benedictine Monastery was purchased by the Sisters of Saint Gertrude. The Academy, located west of Cottonwood, played a substantial and active role in the local community until its final closure in 1973. In addition to the Academy, Cottonwood at one time was supported by a nearby U.S. Air Force radar base. After the radar base was closed, the facilities were used as a Job Corps center operated by the U.S. Forest Service. The community has frequently shown its ambivalent feelings for these military and training facilities. The economic spinoffs were no doubt appreciated, but the military people and Job Corps people were thought of as outsiders and the latter especially were profoundly distrusted by large segments of the community. Local as well as national political climate led to closure of the Job Corps center in 1974. Since that time a small part of the facilities have been taken over by the Bureau of Land Management, and a large part have been turned over to the state for use as a minimum security prison for youthful offenders. This latter use has also met with opposition from segments of the local community, but development of the campus is proceeding.

The mainstay of the local economy is, of course, its agriculture. The rich, rolling prairie grows good dryland crops of wheat, barley, peas, and grass seed. The town serves as a source of production inputs, provides for transportation of the product to markets, and provides a range of community services. The town has long been a place for the local farmers to move to when they retire. Increasingly, one sees active farmers who prefer to live in town and commute to their farm operation.

Riggins

The village of Riggins is located on the Salmon River at the mouth of the Little Salmon River. This is the point at which the Salmon River completes its westward run across the breadth of the state and turns sharply northward for 50 miles skirting the mountain range containing the Seven Devils, before turning westward again to join with the Snake River. The straight north-south segment of the Salmon between Riggins and Whitebird and most of the Little Salmon south of Riggins are bordered by U.S. 95, the two-lane road which is Idaho's major north-south highway.

Riggins is the most isolated of the six sample towns, being 50 miles from the Idaho County seat at Grangeville, 120 miles from Lewiston, and about 120 to 150 miles from the larger towns in the Boise Valley to the south.

Riggins has little written history. The apparent first settler to the flat was Mike Deasy who in 1873 took a squatter's claim there for prospecting. Two years later two men approached Deasy about selling his squatter's rights. The claim to this flat, once a resting point for hunting parties of the Nez Perce Tribe, was traded for two horses and a gold watch. In 1911 the town was renamed; previously known as Gouge Eye, it was changed to Riggins in honor of its first postmaster.

While Riggins is isolated today, its earlier isolation was assured by a total lack of roads. The early trails kept to the highlands on either side of the Salmon River Canyon, avoiding the even rougher topography of the canyon bottoms. By the late 1800's, the nearest roads ended several miles north of Riggins and about 30 miles south. Over the pack trail from the south the first livestock were herded into the area. Not until the public works era of the 1930's did the present U.S. 95 route up Whitebird Hill put Riggins on a mainstream route.

Mining was the incentive for early activity in the canyon. The channels of water works and scars of hydraulic mining have now healed to all except those who know where to look. Only one gold dredge now operates intermittently on the bed of the river.

Besides minerals, the canyon has resources for both ranching and crop production. The closed canyon and low altitude foster a warm micro-climate, making the canyon ideal for ranching headquarters and for some kinds of fruit growing. A moderate size peach orchard is located north of Riggins near Whitebird. Timber harvested from surrounding mountains supports a medium size sawmill.

Riggins' image, in the eyes of most people, does not derive from its minerals or agriculture or timber — but from recreation. Riggins is a place one passes through on the way to the Seven Devils Recreation Area; it is the terminus of float boat trips down the "River of No Return"; it is the starting point for jet boat trips on the river; or it is a nice quiet town for retirement living with hunting, fishing and lots of sun to grow tomatoes.

The flat on which Riggins is built is quite confining in this area of precipitous canyon walls. Current growth is proceeding up the bottoms of some side canyons. Towns people have long eyed the flat across the river but access would require a bridge. Moving

U.S. 95 to the other side of the river to get the traffic out of town has been proposed. An open question is how the town's businesses, historically plagued by too small a market area and highly dependent on through traffic on the highway, would react to such a change. Proposals range from building traffic service facilities over there and relegating the present town to residential use to restricting development across the river by making the flat a park, forcing people to cross the river to get services.

Shoshone

In 1882 the Union Pacific Railroad was being constructed across the Snake River Plain. A construction camp was established where a branch from the mining districts further north connected with the main line. Naples, soon to be known as Shoshone, in this early period was distinguished as the point of departure for these mining fields and as a supply point for settlements along the Snake River.

Within two years, stockmen with their sheep had migrated here and destined the area to be known as one of the larger sheep ranching areas of Idaho. In 1895 the area was organized into Lincoln County with the oldest settlement, Shoshone, designated the seat of the county government. The sheep industry era remained through the turn of the century. But the Carey Act of 1894 and the Reclamation Act of 1902 brought changes to the area. In 1907 the Magic Valley Reservoir was completed changing the area from solely a livestock industry to a more diversified industry of livestock and field crop production. An additional boost to crop production came in 1932 with the completion of the Milner-Gooding Canal which increased the irrigated acreage.

Shoshone very clearly illustrates the impact of transportation systems on a small town. Professor Bollinger highlights the importance of this to Shoshone:

> "As the author stood before the modern, attractive railroad station in Shoshone, he formulated the following law of transportation. 'The isolation of small towns increases more than proportionately with the speed of transportation.' The faster the train runs, the more it costs to stop at a small town. The jet airplane, especially, has been no friend of the small town. Its effect has been to accelerate, rather than arrest, the concentration of population. Economically and psychologically, airlines and their passengers both want a nonstop trip. Descent into smaller airports delays and endangers the safety of any flight. Technical advance in transport requires greater capital investment, which raises the break-even point and, therefore, discourages service to small shippers, small shipping points, and even small airports.
>
> "Since the inauguration of the Railpax system in May 1971, no passenger train operates anywhere in southern Idaho. Shoshone had been a junction point for servicing passenger and freight trains on the mainline transcontinental railroad for 90 years. Thirty-five years ago the Union Pacific Railroad constructed a major ski resort in the mountains 55 miles north of Shoshone at Sun Valley. To accommodate the passengers who transferred to local transportation at Shoshone, a Spanish-style passenger station was built there.
>
> "Because the railroad was so important to the life of the town, one half of Shoshone's Main Street parallels the railroad on the south, and the other half parallels the tracks on the north. The two business sections face each other across the span of tracks, acknowledging their dependence upon the railroad which had been their lifeblood. There they stand — all of the the stalwart survivors in the business community plus City Hall — arranged in ceremonial fashion around an elegant but deserted passenger station. Are the Wright Brothers responsible for this funeral arrangement? Has the speed of transportation progressed to the point where it costs too much to stop at Shoshone?" (6, p. 586).

Shoshone's problems with transportation are deeper seated than the question of rail service, however. Shoshone residents themselves have easy access to Twin Falls, only 25 miles distant, where they increasingly go to do their shopping — with obvious consequences for the Shoshone business community.

Shoshone has several other economic bases of support. A Bureau of Land Management office is located in town, and will soon move to a newly constructed office building. A state highway department facility also provides a number of local jobs. While not everyone employed in Shoshone actually lives there, such a job mix means that Shoshone has many resident professional people — a valuable resource of human talent available to the community.

Oakley

Oakley was established as a stage station in 1864, about 25 miles north of the present Utah-Idaho border, on the Kelton Road which connected Boise with many Utah cities. Goose Creek Crossing, as it was then known, did not attract much attention from settlers until the military managed to subdue the native residents of the area. In the late 1870's a group of settlers renamed the stage stop Oakley. The grass covered valley supported both farming and ranching.

Oakley was among the earliest settled towns in southcentral Idaho. The scarcity of water and difficulty of travel prevented settlement where cities like Twin Falls and Burley now stand as monuments to our road and dam construction technology.

Oakley itself prospered from the early stages of this technology. By 1908 a group managed to form a company to build a storage reservoir for irrigation use in the valley. The dam was completed in 1912 and in the next few years Oakley became a substantial town. The following comes from one respondent to this study's questionnaire:

> "There were at this time, 1 new bank, 2 grocery stores, 1 hardware store, 2 doctors, 1 dentist, a new high school, 1 garage, 1 livery stable, a post office, 1 men's clothing store, 1 barber shop, 1 drug store, and others, 1 lumber yard, etc. It looked as though Oakley was starting to be a boom town. Then in 1917 the Vipont mine opened up just 27 miles south of Oakley. This proved to be a very rich mine producing silver, gold, and some lead. All the freight was shipped in over the two railroads to Oakley, also many people worked in this mine. By 1918 there was a large mill built to smelter low grade ore. All the freight used for

building purposes was freighted to the mine by freight wagon and horses. Then the ore was freighted back to Oakley and shipped to Salt Lake City for smeltering. Oakley doubled in size, in population and businesses. At this time there were over 2500 people living and working in Oakley. It was the largest city in southern Idaho at this time. It was a prosperous and well organized city.

> "In the year 1919 came the great disaster. The Stock Market collapsed causing a money panic and a depression throughout the county. The price of silver and gold dropped to a new low causing the mine to shut down. Many businesses went broke. One bank closed its doors causing many people to lose their earnings."

The remainder of this letter, along with several others, is included in the appendix to this report.

Despite its positive attributes, Oakley has continued its decline. Agriculture in the valley has prospered. However, the residents have found the nearby and growing urban centers of Burley and Twin Falls to be convenient sources of consumption goods and services. Especially Burley, 20 miles distant, has outcompeted the Oakley businesses for customers. Present Oakley has only a very abbreviated offering of goods and services, but is left with many problems associated with its decline.

Malad

The largest community among the six surveyed is Malad, located in Oneida County. The first settlers of the Malad Valley were Mormons who came to harvest the wild grass for hay in 1864. Two years later the town was of sufficient size that Malad was designated a county seat.

The Federal Writers Project guidebook describes the community:

> "...the seat of Oneida County and once the seat of this entire part of the State. The Malad River was named by French-Canadian trappers, though whether they were made ill from drinking the water or from overgorging on the flesh of beaver seems not to be known. Few towns in Idaho had a more turbulent past. A pictorial history of Malad City would show a panorama of stage robberies, lynchings, and murders. It was over this Montana Road that gold was freighted from northern mines to the smelters in Utah, and it was in this town that the coaches of the Overland Stage came to a stop. Malad today is remarkable chiefly for the crazy irregularity of its streets, many of which were laid at random upon old paths and cow trails; and for its historic log cabins still scattered among its homes. The East Malad Mountain rises to a height of 9,332 feet and shelters the town from extremes of weather" (10 p. 253).

The town continued to boom with fertile soil and ample water. Later, when crickets invaded the fields, the farmers turned to freighting supplies from the Southern Pacific terminus, 30 miles south of Malad, to the Montana gold fields. When, several years later, the U & N Railroad was completed north to Butte, Mont., the economy of Malad was dealt a serious blow.

After several decades of standstill, a Union Pacific spur line reached Malad, offering market access for its agricultural products. Irrigated farming became important in the area, along with extensive areas of dry land farming and cattle ranching. In addition, forestry provides some employment opportunities.

Malad must be understood in the context of its relation to Utah. Situated on Interstate 15, 13 miles from the Utah border, Malad is socially and economically closer to Tremonton, Logan, and Ogden than to Pocatello, Idaho, some 60 miles north. Malad, like Oakley, developed as a frontier outpost of a large society centered at Salt Lake City at a time when no towns were on the Snake River.

These counties in the southeast corner of Idaho have not fully participated in the economic growth of either the areas closer to the Snake River or the dynamic growing areas nearer to Salt Lake. The picture may be changing, however. The greater area has very extensive phosphate mineral resources similar to those presently being mined at Soda Springs, and speculation is widespread about increased mining activity. Moreover, the area is close enough to be affected by any large oil shale development program in western Wyoming.

Malad, along with other similar communities, is also beginning to experience another interesting consequence of its smallness and its historic outmigration pattern. Because Malad has good road access to the south into Utah, it is a nice place for retirement or to live in and commute south to work.

The Consumer Questionnaire

Two questionnaires were administered in each of these six towns:-a consumer questionnaire for which the results appear in this section, and a businessmen's questionnaire for which the results are discussed at the end of the chapter.

A major purpose of the questionnaires was to gather the information necessary to understand the makeup of each of the six towns — to probe into people's attitudes and into the business and social climates. Such information is necessary before a clear picture of a town's unique setting and unique problems can be formulated.

The second purpose of the questionnaires was more analytic. The previous chapters in this report have discussed a theoretical framework for small town growth and decline. These chapters have also looked at some aspects of growth and decline as seen in the aggregate data. The data from the questionnaires provide the opportunity to look at some of these relationships for six specific Idaho towns.

An example of the consumer questionnaire used for the six communities appears as Appendix A. Each of the questionnaires was identical except for the town name which was changed for each town in the hope that residents would identify more closely with the questionnaire. The questionnaire was sent and returned by mail. For five of the six towns, mailing addresses were obtained from a random sampling of appropriate telephone directory listings. For the sixth town addresses were sampled from the county agent's mailing list. Each community was sent 225 questionnaires except for Riggins which received only 200 because of its small size. An attempt was made to assure that the sample covered not only the town but also the surrounding areas that might interact with the town.

Details of the return rates for the survey are shown in Exhibit 5.3. Overall, 52.7% of the questionnaires were returned with usable data. This rate ranged from a low of 41.3% for Cottonwood to a high of 67.6% for Shoshone. These variations are interesting since the survey techniques were identical for each town. After the initial mailing one followup letter was sent, including another copy of the questionnaire and a handwritten note requesting cooperation. The differences in response rates are at least suggestive of basic differences in these towns. At one extreme the high return rate from Shoshone suggests a real concern with the severe problems faced by that community and an openness to suggestion. At the other extreme, the low response rate from Cottonwood suggests that its problems are causing less concern or else that it is a community less open to involvement by outsiders.

The overall study results were quite satisfactory. The results shown below are only preliminary. Subsequent analysis of the questionnaires should yield further conclusions about small Idaho towns.

Consumer Questionnaire Results

Several survey questions were included to find out information about the person who completed the questionnaire. While the main use of this data will be in subsequent analysis, the results are also of interest here.

(Question 3)

This question asked the respondent to state his relationship to the rest of the household — husband, wife, or other. For the six towns, 67.3% of the responses were "husband" -- in line with the telephone listing bias toward male names (Exhibit 5.4); 23.5% responded "wife", 4.9% "other", and 4.3% did not respond to the question. Only minor differences were in the percentages among the towns.

(Question 4)

The respondents were asked to state the occupation and location of work for each household member who earned income the previous year. These responses will be used to establish commuting patterns as well as the interactions between occupation, place of work, attitudes, and buying patterns. The results are presented here (Exhibits 5.5 and 5.6) to give some idea of the characteristics of the survey sample. Since the sample frame included outlying areas, the data as shown should be used carefully in demonstrating commuting behavior. The relatively smaller number of Priest River respondents working in Priest River itself may simply demonstrate the number of survey respondents living outside of the town boundaries rather than any massive pattern of commuting to work.

Several points in the occupation mix data do bear amplification. First is the disproportionate number of professionals in Shoshone, which is a county seat and a railroad town and contains a BLM office and a highway department office. Second, note the small number of self-employed in Priest River and Riggins. Third, note the large number of retired people in Riggins and Priest River.

(Question 6)

This question asked for the income of each member of the household with earnings during the previous year. The mean income figure shown in Exhibit 5.7 is computed using the interval midpoints (over $30,000 assumed to have a midpoint of $35,000) so these figures may have considerable error. Priest River workers appeared to have the lowest incomes; Shoshone, with its large number of professionals, has the highest incomes.

(Questions 1 and 5)

This series of questions was included to probe the respondent's attitudes about his community and about small towns in general. Respondents were asked to rate each statement on a 1 to 5 scale, with 1 being strong agreement, 3 not sure, and 5 strong disa-

Exhibit 5.3 - Consumer Questionnaire Return Rates

	Number Sent	Number Usable	Percent Usable
Priest River	225	106	47.1%
Riggins	200	115	57.5%
Oakley	225	122	54.2%
Malad	225	110	48.9%
Shoshone	225	152	67.6%
Cottonwood	225	93	41.3%
TOTAL:	1,325	698	52.7%

greement. Exhibit 5.8 shows the aggregate results from all six towns. The results are shown as a bar for each statement. The bar centers on the mean of the responses, while the width of the bar is a 95% confidence interval around the mean. As usual, the extreme responses are the more interesting. Questions **1h** *(small town and rural people have a better outlook on life)*, **5e** *(most people in ______ are willing to help others in time of need)*, and **5f** *(__________ is a very good place for raising children)* prompted quite strong agreement. Similarly, **5d** *(__________ is too inconvenient to make it my permanent home)*, **5i** *(______________ is a pretty boring place to live)*, and **li** *(For what one gets it costs too much to live in ______)* brought relative disagreement. These results seem to document a commitment to the virtues of small town life on the part of residents of these six communities.

While people reacted with disagreement to **lq** *(Opportunities in ____________ encourage young people to make homes there)*, the respondents displayed a mixed attitude toward development and change. While 78.6% of the respondents either agreed or strongly agreed with **lr** *(__________ should encourage new business and industry)*, 62.9% agreed with **5b** *(People in __________ dislike things which threaten the status quo)* which seems to reflect an opposite point of view. The respondents themselves may have thought that new business was good — but that everyone else was supporting the status quo.

Despite the problems of small town labor markets, over three quarters of the respondents either agreed or strongly agreed with **5h** *(My present job makes adequate use of my skills, training, and education).* While job seeking is not going to cause any mass exodus from these towns, 5.3% of the respondents agreed or strongly agreed with 1 l *(I am seeking employment in another area and plan to move soon).* Statement 5j *(I have plans to move from this community in the foreseeable future)* drew a 10.1% response of agree or strongly agree. Obviously, if these people find other jobs, move, and are not replaced by other inmigrants, the community will suffer continued population losses.

One should look in more detail at how responses to these questions varied by town. The results for each town are shown in Exhibit 5.9.

1a. *Local leaders are doing a good job of running ________.* Overall, 55.8% of the respondents either agreed or strongly agreed that the local leadership was performing adequately, while only 18.9% disagreed, a record that the local leaders can be quite happy with. While the differences between towns were small, the Riggins sample was somewhat more complimentary (63.2% on the agree side) and the Priest River respondents were on the average most critical (37.9% agree or strongly agree). The Malad and Oakley results suggest some polarization in attitudes toward the local leadership. For Malad, 52.1% were on the side of agreement, 26.9% on the disagree

Exhibit 5.4 - Relationship of Respondent to Rest of Household

	Priest River	Riggins	Oakley	Malad	Shoshone	Cottonwood	Aggregate
Husband							
Number	64	78	83	76	108	61	470
Percent	60.4	67.8	68.0	69.1	71.1	65.6	67.3
Wife							
Number	29	29	30	21	36	19	164
Percent	27.4	25.2	24.6	19.1	23.7	20.4	23.5
Other							
Number	9	4	3	6	2	10	34
Percent	7.5	3.5	2.5	5.5	1.3	10.8	4.9
No Response							
Number	4	4	6	7	6	3	30
Percent	3.8	3.5	4.9	6.4	3.9	3.2	4.3

side, and 21.0% used the "not sure" response. Likewise for Oakley 53.8% agreed, 24.5% disagreed, and only 21.7% were not sure.

1b. *People in________ are working hard to improve the town.* The responses to this question were quite similar to those for 1a. Again Riggins showed the strongest agreement while Priest River showed the least.

1c. *Adequate medical care is available in or near* ________. Here the responses separated quite distinctly according to the medical facilities available in the town. Disagreement with this statement was strongest in Priest River (56.9%), Oakley (56.3%), and Riggins (42.0%). These three towns lack both a general hospital and a doctor. The town of Cottonwood was judged to have more adequate medical care (84.8% agreement) as was Shoshone (84.1%) and Malad (70.4%). Both Malad and Cottonwood have a hospital and doctor which accounts for their satisfaction. Shoshone has a doctor but no hospital so the respondents must have judged Twin Falls and Jerome hospitals were close enough to allow for adequate care.

1d. *Decent jobs are almost impossible to find in or near*__________. This is a rather strongly worded statement, yet it still drew responses which averaged between mild agreement and not sure. Strongest agreement came from Malad where 66.0% could

Exhibit 5.5. Occupation of Respondent Household Members

	Number Responding	Professional	Self-Employed	Clerical (Sales, Manager)	Wage Earner	Unemployed	Retired	Housewife	Part Time	Disabled
Husband										
Priest River	90	4.4	17.8	7.8	43.3		23.3			3.3
Riggins	97	5.2	19.6	3.1	44.3		25.8			2.1
Oakley	99	3.0	57.6	4.0	27.3		8.1			
Malad	86	8.1	52.3	4.7	26.7		8.1			
Shoshone	139	20.9	31.7	4.3	36.7		6.5			
Cottonwood	76	6.6	40.8	14.5	26.3		11.8			
Aggregate	587	9.0	36.1	6.0	34.6		13.5			0.9
Wife										
Priest River	48	8.3	2.1	18.8	22.9	2.1	27.1	14.6	4.2	
Riggins	54	7.4	9.3	14.8	14.8		35.2	14.8	3.7	
Oakley	65	15.4	6.2	6.2	16.9		15.4	32.3	6.2	1.5
Malad	60	6.7	3.3	10.0	11.7		16.7	45.0	6.7	
Shoshone	86	14.0	4.7	22.1	17.4		5.8	27.9	8.1	
Cottonwood	44	9.1	6.8	18.2	11.4		6.8	47.7		
Aggregate	357	10.6	5.3	15.1	16.0	0.3	16.8	30.3	5.3	0.3
Other										
Priest River	14			14.3	64.3		21.4			
Riggins	17		25.0	5.0	50.0		5.0		15.0	
Oakley	16	14.3	19.0	57.1					9.5	
Malad	10	18.2	45.5	9.1	9.1		9.1		9.1	
Shoshone	17		12.0	4.0	28.0				56.0	
Cottonwood	12	5.9	29.4	5.9	47.1		5.9		5.9	
Aggregate	86	5.6	20.4	16.7	32.4		5.6		19.4	

Exhibit 5.6 - Place of Work for Respondent Household Members

Priest River Questionnaire

	Priest River	Newport-Oldtown	Sandpoint	Coeur d'Alene	Spokane	Priest Lake	Blanchard	Laclede	Out-of-Region	No Response
Husband										
Number	30	11	7	2	2	7	1	1	2	43
% of Responses	47.6	17.5	11.1	3.2	3.2	11.1	1.6	1.6	3.2	
Wife										
Number	14	7	4		2	3	1			75
% of Responses	45.2	22.5	12.9		6.5	9.7	3.2			
Other										
Number	7	1		1	1					97
% of Responses	70.0	10.0		10.0	10.0					

Riggins Questionnaire

	Riggins	Whitebird	Grangeville	Slate Creek	Pollock	Lucile	Boise	Warren	No Response
Husband									
Number	56	10	3	8	8	7	2	1	20
% of Responses	58.9	10.5	3.2	8.4	8.4	7.4	2.1	1.1	
Wife									
Number	32	5	1	4	5	5			63
% of Responses	61.5	9.6	1.9	7.7	9.6	9.6			
Other									
Number	13	3		2	1		1		98
% of Responses	65.0	15.0		10.0	5.0		5.0		

Exhibit 5.6 - Place of Work for Respondent Household Members (Cont.)

Oakley Questionnaire

	Oakley	Burley	Murtaugh	Rupert	Paul	Heyburn	Out-of-Region	No Response
Husband								
Number	67	13	1	1	1	2	3	34
% of Responses	76.1	14.8	1.1	1.1	1.1	2.3	3.4	
Wife								
Number	42	8		2			1	69
% of Responses	79.2	15.1		3.8			1.9	
Other								
Number	9	11						107
% of Responses	45.0	55.0						

Malad Questionnaire

	Malad	Brigham City	Pocatello	Holbrook	Salt Lake	Daniels	Ridgedale	Samaria	Out-of-Region	No Response
Husband										
Number	54	6		7	1	3	1	1	1	36
% of Responses	73.0	8.1		9.5	1.4	4.1	1.4	1.4	1.4	
Wife										
Number	44	3	1							62
% of Responses	91.7	6.3	2.1							
Other										
Number	8	1								102
% of Responses	88.9	12.5								

Exhibit 5.6 - Place of Work for Respondent Household Members (Cont.)

Shoshone Questionnaire

	Shoshone	Jerome	Twin Falls	Boise	Dietrich	Richfield	Gooding	Out-of-Area	No Response
Husband									
Number	119	1	3		4	5		1	19
% of Responses	89.5	0.8	2.3		3.0	3.8		0.8	
Wife									
Number	62	7	5	1	1	1	1		74
% of Responses	79.5	9.0	6.4	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3		
Other									
Number	18	2		1	5				134
% of Responses	69.2	7.7		3.8	19.2				

Cottonwood Questionnaire

	Cottonwood	Grangeville	Lewiston	Kamiah	Ferdinand	Craigmont	Greencreek	Orofino	Other-in-Region	No Response
Husband										
Number	39	5	2	4	4	4	3	2	6	24
% of Responses	56.5	7.2	2.9	5.8	5.8	5.8	2.9	4.3	12.9	
Wife										
Number	22	5			1	2	1		2	60
% of Responses	66.7	15.2			3.0	6.1	3.0			
Other										
Number	8	5	1			2				82
% of Responses	50.0	31.3	6.3			12.5				

Exhibit 5.7. Income of Respondent Household Members.

	Number Reporting Income	$1 to 999	$1,000 to 1,999	$2,000 to 2,999	$3,000 to 3,999	$4,000 to 4,999	$5,000 to 5,999	$6,000 to 7,999	$8,000 to 9,999	$10,000 to 11,999	$12,000
Husband											
Priest River	76		1.3	9.2	7.9	2.6	6.6	11.8	18.4	14.5	19
Riggins	87	2.3	2.3	6.9	5.7	4.6	5.7	11.5	14.9	20.7	13
Oakley	98	1.0	1.0	5.1	8.2	6.1	11.2	18.4	13.3	17.3	6
Malad	86	2.3	1.2	2.3	8.1	7.0	16.3	17.4	9.3	15.1	5
Shoshone	132			0.8	0.8	4.5	7.6	22.0	19.7	13.6	14
Cottonwood	69	1.4			2.9	5.8	11.6	15.9	14.5	13.0	18
Aggregate	548	1.1	0.9	3.8	5.3	5.1	9.7	16.8	15.3	15.7	12
Wife											
Priest River	30	20.0	26.7	23.3	10.0	6.7	3.3	3.3	6.7		
Riggins	36	22.2	25.0	13.9	11.1	5.6		11.1	5.6		2
Oakley	44	18.2	22.7	22.7	9.1	6.8	6.8	6.8	4.5	2.3	
Malad	27	25.9	14.8	11.1	22.2	3.7	3.7	11.1	3.7		
Shoshone	60	16.7	21.7	11.7	10.0	8.3	10.0	16.7	1.7	3.3	
Cottonwood	25	24.0	32.0	4.0	8.0	16.0	4.0	4.0	8.0		
Aggregate	222	20.3	23.4	14.9	11.3	7.7	5.4	9.9	4.5	1.4	0
Other											
Priest River	19	10.5	15.8	15.8	5.3	10.5	21.1	5.3	5.3	5.3	
Riggins	26	26.9	15.4	3.8	7.7	7.7	7.7	26.9			
Oakley	15	20.0	20.0	13.3				26.7	13.3		
Malad	15	26.7	6.7	20.0	6.7	6.7	6.7	6.7	13.3		6
Shoshone	24	25.0	16.7	16.7	4.2	12.5	16.7	4.2			
Cottonwood	9	22.2		11.1	22.2				33.3		11
Aggregate	108	23.8	14.9	13.9	6.9	7.9	10.9	13.9	7.9	1.0	2

Exhibit 5.8: Aggregate Responses to Attitudinal Questions

1. Please answer the following questions by placing a circle around the number which most closely expresses your feelings about the following statements. Some of the statements are designed to show your attitudes about __________ even though you may or may not live in that town.

a. Local leaders are doing a good job of running __________

AGREE 1.5 2.0 2.5 3.0 3.5 4.0 4.5 DISAGREE

----------------------|-*-|-----------------------------

b. People in __________ are working hard to improve the town

AGREE 1.5 2.0 2.5 3.0 3.5 4.0 4.5 DISAGREE

-------------------------|-*-|--------------------------

c. Adequate medical care is available in or near __________

AGREE 1.5 2.0 2.5 3.0 3.5 4.0 4.5 DISAGREE

------------------------|-*-|---------------------------

d. Decent jobs are almost impossible to find in or near __________

AGREE 1.5 2.0 2.5 3.0 3.5 4.0 4.5 DISAGREE

-----------------------|-*-|----------------------------

e. Recreation and entertainment opportunities are good in __________

AGREE 1.5 2.0 2.5 3.0 3.5 4.0 4.5 DISAGREE

------------------------------|-*-|---------------------

f. It is difficult to get people in __________ to agree on anything

AGREE 1.5 2.0 2.5 3.0 3.5 4.0 4.5 DISAGREE

-----------------------------|-*-|----------------------

g. People in __________ must get by without adequate shopping areas

AGREE 1.5 2.0 2.5 3.0 3.5 4.0 4.5 DISAGREE

------------------------|-*-|---------------------------

h. Small town and rural people have a better outlook on life

AGREE 1.5 2.0 2.5 3.0 3.5 4.0 4.5 DISAGREE

--------------|-*-|-------------------------------------

i. For what one gets--it costs too much to live in __________

AGREE 1.5 2.0 2.5 3.0 3.5 4.0 4.5 DISAGREE

---------------------------------|-*-|------------------

j. Public education in ______ is better than average

AGREE 1.5 2.0 2.5 3.0 3.5 4.0 4.5 DISAGREE

--------------------------|-*-|-------------------------

k. Development of recreation related businesses would make __________ grow

AGREE 1.5 2.0 2.5 3.0 3.5 4.0 4.5 DISAGREE

-----------------------|-*-|----------------------------

l. I am seeking employment in another area, and plan to move soon

AGREE 1.5 2.0 2.5 3.0 3.5 4.0 4.5 DISAGREE

--|-*-|-------

m. A few influential people make all the community decisions in __________

AGREE 1.5 2.0 2.5 3.0 3.5 4.0 4.5 DISAGREE

-----------------------|-*-|----------------------------

n. It is difficult to get appliances or cars repaired in __________

AGREE 1.5 2.0 2.5 3.0 3.5 4.0 4.5 DISAGREE

-----------------------|-*-|----------------------------

o. It is much cheaper to live in small towns than in large cities

AGREE 1.5 2.0 2.5 3.0 3.5 4.0 4.5 DISAGREE

--------------------|-*-|-------------------------------

p. Local attitudes tend to delay needed changes in __________

AGREE 1.5 2.0 2.5 3.0 3.5 4.0 4.5 DISAGREE

--------------------|-*-|-------------------------------

q. Opportunities in __________ encourage young people to make homes there

AGREE 1.5 2.0 2.5 3.0 3.5 4.0 4.5 DISAGREE

--|-*-|-----------

Exhibit 5.8 (continued)

r. __________ should encourage new business and industry
```
AGREE        1.5           2.0          2.5          3.0           3.5          4.0          4.5   DISAGREE
--------------------------|-*-|----------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

s. If a lot of outsiders move in, __________ will be a worse place to live
```
AGREE        1.5           2.0          2.5          3.0           3.5          4.0          4.5   DISAGREE
------------------------------------------------------|-*-|------------------------------------------------
```

t. __________ is a healthy, growing community
```
AGREE        1.5           2.0          2.5          3.0           3.5          4.0          4.5   DISAGREE
----------------------------------------------------|-*-|--------------------------------------------------
```

u. I now drive elsewhere to buy things which I once would have bought in __________
```
AGREE        1.5           2.0          2.5          3.0           3.5          4.0          4.5   DISAGREE
-------------------------------------------|-*-|-----------------------------------------------------------
```

v. I would have to earn a lot more money before I would move to another town
```
AGREE        1.5           2.0          2.5          3.0           3.5          4.0          4.5   DISAGREE
-------------------------------------|-*-|-----------------------------------------------------------------
```

5. a. __________ is getting above average returns for its tax dollar
```
AGREE        1.5           2.0          2.5          3.0           3.5          4.0          4.5   DISAGREE
------------------------------------------------------|-*-|------------------------------------------------
```

b. People in __________ dislike things that threaten the status quo
```
AGREE        1.5           2.0          2.5          3.0           3.5          4.0          4.5   DISAGREE
----------------------------------|-*-|--------------------------------------------------------------------
```

c. __________ would be better if it had concerts, plays and art shows
```
AGREE        1.5           2.0          2.5          3.0           3.5          4.0          4.5   DISAGREE
-------------------------------------------------|-*-|-----------------------------------------------------
```

d. __________ is too inconvenient to make it my permanent home
```
AGREE        1.5           2.0          2.5          3.0           3.5          4.0          4.5   DISAGREE
--------------------------------------------------------------------------|-*-|----------------------------
```

e. Most people in __________ are willing to help others in time of need
```
AGREE        1.5           2.0          2.5          3.0           3.5          4.0          4.5   DISAGREE
------------------|-*-|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

f. __________ is a very good place for raising children
```
AGREE        1.5           2.0          2.5          3.0           3.5          4.0          4.5   DISAGREE
------------------------|-*-|------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

g. The police and fire protection in __________ is adequate
```
AGREE        1.5           2.0          2.5          3.0           3.5          4.0          4.5   DISAGREE
-------------------------------------|-*-|-----------------------------------------------------------------
```

h. My present job makes adequate use of my skills, training and education
```
AGREE        1.5           2.0          2.5          3.0           3.5          4.0          4.5   DISAGREE
---------------------------------|-*-|---------------------------------------------------------------------
```

i. __________ is a pretty boring place to live
```
AGREE        1.5           2.0          2.5          3.0           3.5          4.0          4.5   DISAGREE
--------------------------------------------------------------------|-*-|----------------------------------
```

j. I have plans to move from this community in the foreseeable future
```
AGREE        1.5           2.0          2.5          3.0           3.5          4.0          4.5   DISAGREE
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-*-|-------------------------
```

k. Adequate credit at reasonable interest is available in __________
```
AGREE        1.5           2.0          2.5          3.0           3.5          4.0          4.5   DISAGREE
-----------------------------------------|-*-|-------------------------------------------------------------
```

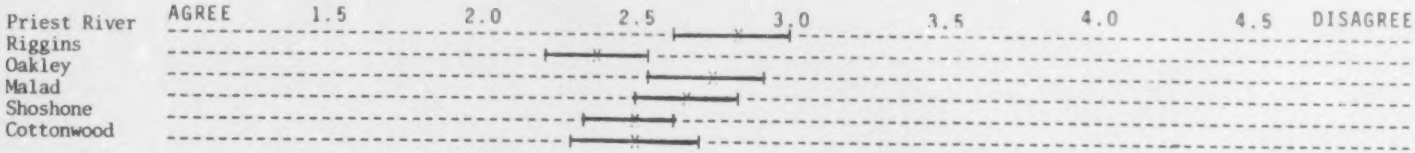
l. __________ schools prepare children well for jobs they are likely to get
```
AGREE        1.5           2.0          2.5          3.0           3.5          4.0          4.5   DISAGREE
------------------------------------------------|-*-|------------------------------------------------------
```

m. I want my children to get jobs and settle in this community
```
AGREE        1.5           2.0          2.5          3.0           3.5          4.0          4.5   DISAGREE
---------------------------------------------------|-*-|---------------------------------------------------
```

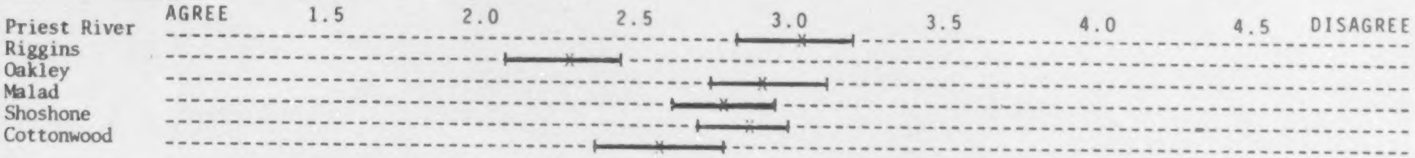
Exhibit 5.9: Responses by Each Town to Attitudinal Questions*

1. Please answer the following questions by placing a circle around the number which most closely expresses your feelings about the following statements. Some of the statements are designed to show your attitudes about _________ even though you may or may not live in that town.

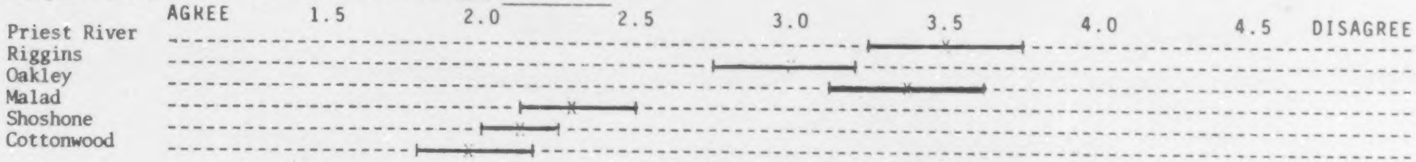
a. Local leaders are doing a good job of running __________



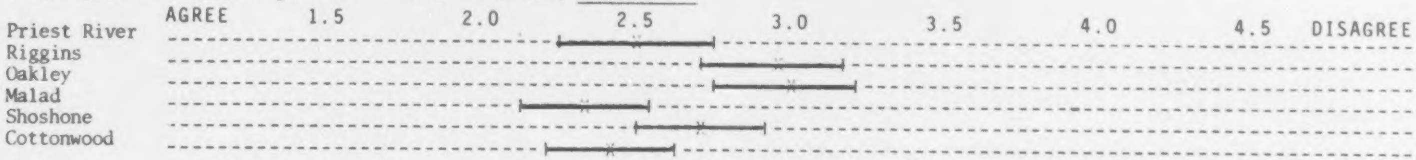
b. People in _________ are working hard to improve the town



c. Adequate medical care is available in or near _________



d. Decent jobs are almost impossible to find in or near _________



e. Recreation and entertainment opportunities are good in __________

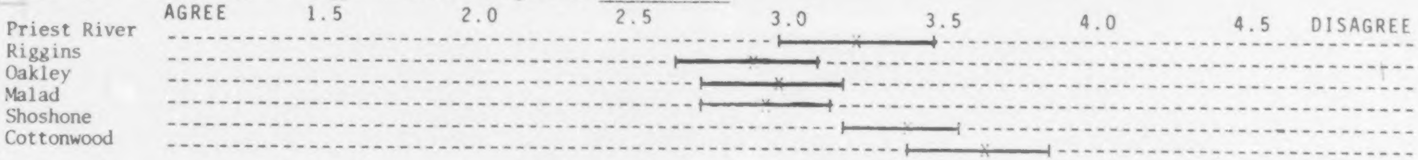
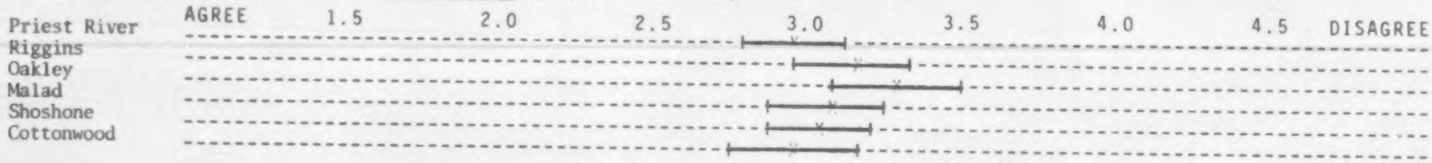
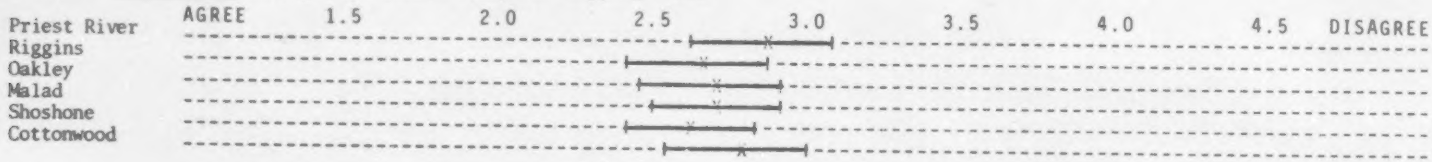


Exhibit 5.9 (continued)

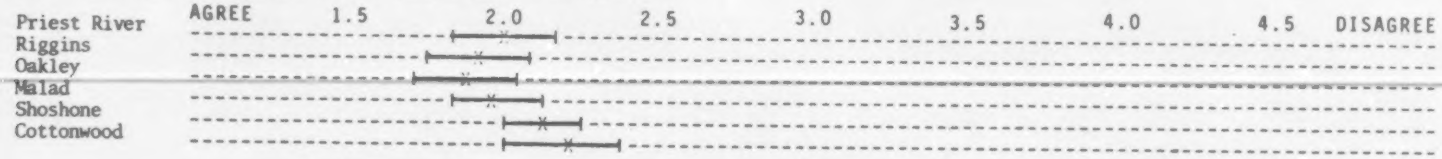
f. It is difficult to get people in ____________ to agree on anything



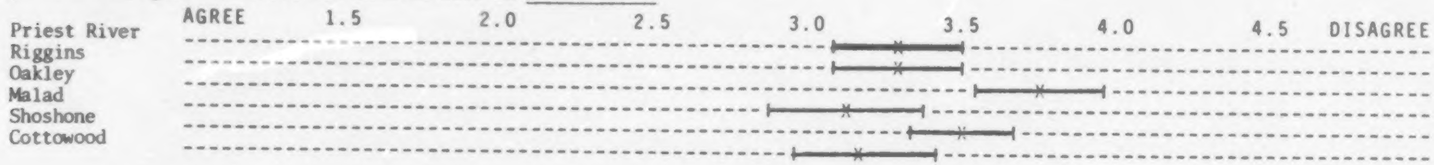
g. People in __________ must get by without adequate shopping areas



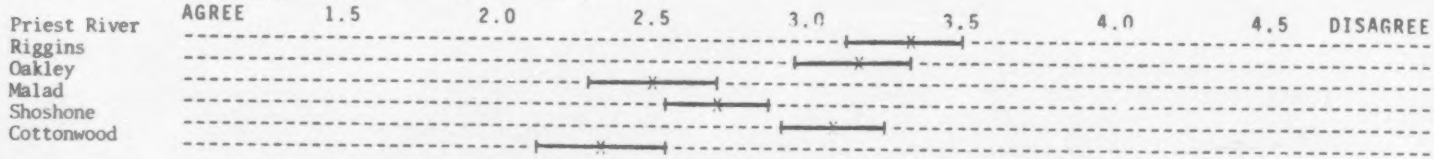
h. Small town and rural people have a better outlook on life



i. For what one gets--it costs too much to live in ___________



j. Public education in ___________ is better than average



k. Development of recreation related businesses would make ___________ grow

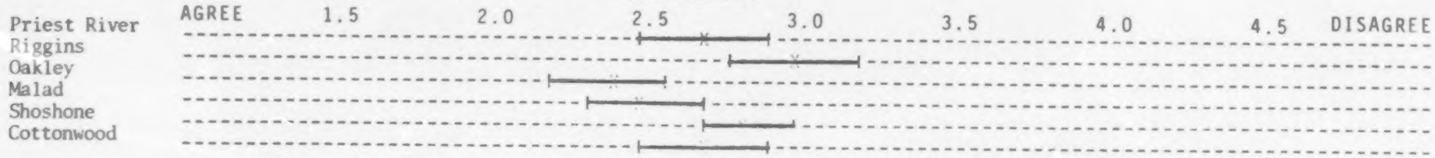
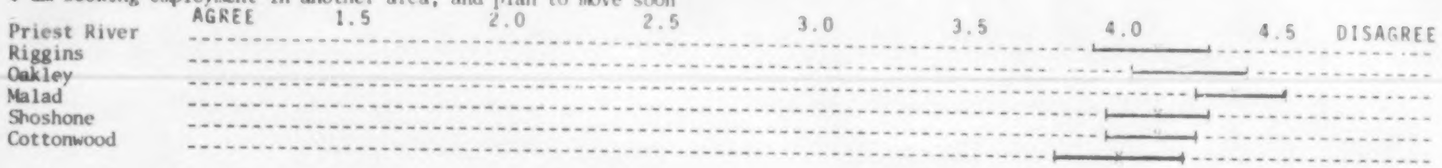
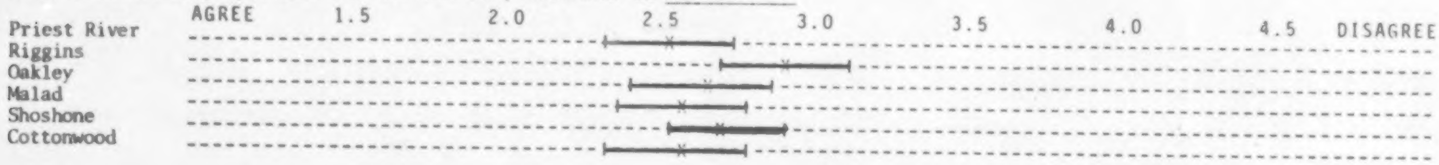


Exhibit 5.9 (continued)

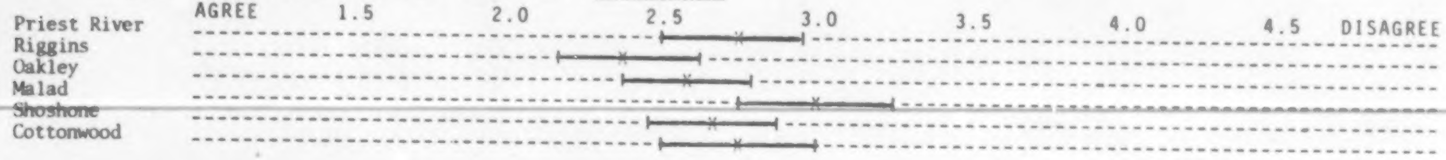
l. I am seeking employment in another area, and plan to move soon



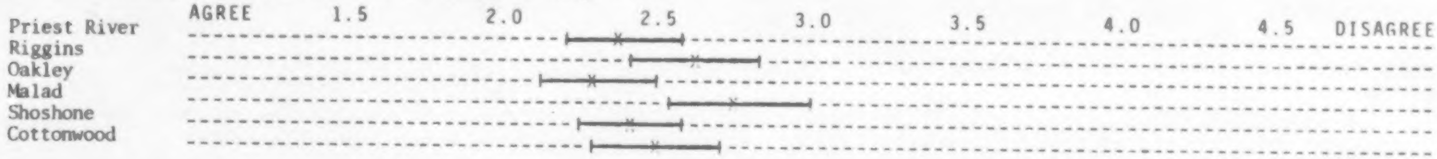
m. A few influential people make all the community decisions in ___________



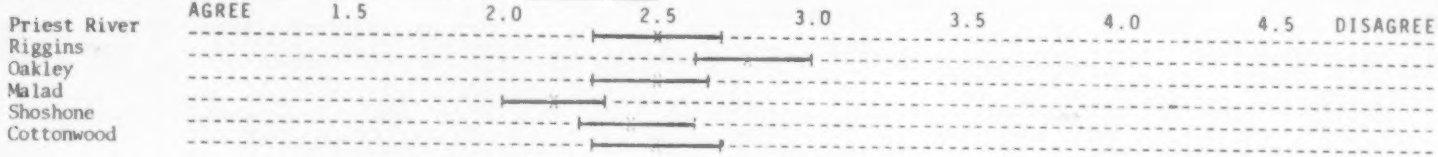
n. It is difficult to get appliances or cars repaired in ___________



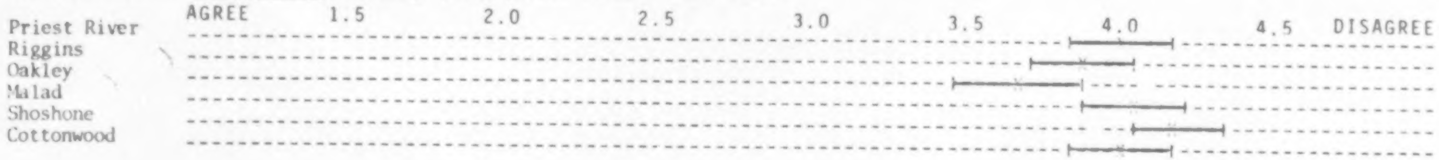
o. It is much cheaper to live in small towns than in large cities



p. Local attitudes tend to delay needed changes in ___________



q. Opportunities in ___________ encourage young people to make homes there



either agree or strongly agree. Availability of good jobs appears a very real problem in some small towns.

1e. *Recreation and entertainment opportunities are good in__________.* This question drew responses which averaged between not sure and disagreement. Cottonwood with 67.0% disagreement, Shoshone with 53.7%, and Priest River with 52.9% were the most critical of their recreation and entertainment prospects. An outsider might protest that these towns have good access to outdoor recreation areas. Yet these towns do lack diversity in their entertainment-recreation facilities — especially for someone whose job keeps him outdoors anyway.

1f. *It is difficult to get people in____________to agree on anything.* This too is a rather strongly worded statement about community attitudes, but it managed only a neutral to mildly negative response. Oakley disagreed most strongly (58.1% disagree or strongly disagree). However, nearly a third (30.7%) of the Oakley respondents agreed with the statement. Only 11.1% of the Oakley respondents were not sure about this statement compared to between 26.4 and 52.0% not sure for the other five towns.

1g. *People in__________must get by without adequate shopping areas.* Aggregate agreement with this statement was fairly high (56.3%) with only minor differences between towns. A quite high aggregate disagreement (37.3%) produced a six-town average response of only mild agreement to not sure. The use of averages, however, hides the fact that most people were sure. Only between 5.0 and 9.3% opted for the not sure response.

1h. *Small town and rural people have a better outlook on life.* Between 72.8 and 86.8% of the responses expressed agreement with this statement — the greatest agreement coming from Oakley, and the least from Cottonwood. However, the differences between the towns were probably not significant. We have the very strong suggestion that people in these six towns consider rural and small town people and life styles to be superior despite any inconveniences. One should collect responses to this question from growing small towns and cities to see if these responses would differ.

1i. *For what one gets — it costs too much to live in____________.* Living in small communities means some very real costs, but this appears not an overriding factor since 61.5% disagreed with this statement and another 11.6% were not sure. Disagreement — i.e., commitment to the town, was strongest in Oakley (78.5%). Agreement, or disenchantment with the costs of a particular town, was highest in Priest River (30.8%) and Cottonwood (30.1%). One must admit, however, that no matter where we live we might be tempted to agree with this statement.

1j. *Public education in___________is better than average.* No community had overwhelming criticism of its schools — at least relative to others. For the aggregate more people agreed with the statement (42.3%) than disagreed (30.5%). Priest River was strongest in criticism of its schools (45.6% disagreement) followed by Riggins (43.5%) and Shoshone (35.3%).

1k. *Development of recreation related business would make__________grow.* This question must be looked at in conjunction with question **1r** *(__________should encourage new business and industry).* The responses to **1r** were in most cases agreement (78.6%). Only Riggins showed a strong undercurrent of skepticism about new business and industry — only 54.4% of the Riggins respondents agree with the statement while a surprising 29.8% registered disagreement. The responses to **1k** were in all cases less enthusiastic than the responses to **1r**. Apparently when the question is narrowed down to *recreation* related business, the respondents still react favorably but with less conviction than for new business and industry in general.

1l. *I am seeking employment in another area and plan to move soon.* Responses to this statement should be examined along with those to question **5j** *(I have plans to move from this community in the foreseeable future).* These statements understandably drew some of the strongest disagreement of any in the survey. Noting the extent of agreement with the statements is interesting. **1l** is the most extreme statement — yet 5.3% responded that they were looking for work elsewhere and had quite firm plans to move. The less extreme statement **5j** drew 10.1% agreement. Exodus of even this many people, if they are not replaced by inmigrants, will not help the growth of the community. The least sentiment for outmovement came from Oakley — only 4.4% agreed with **1l** and 5.9% with **5j**. The strongest indication of a desire to migrate came from Cottonwood where 7.6% indicated they were searching for jobs elsewhere and 18.8% responded that they had plans to move in the foreseeable future.

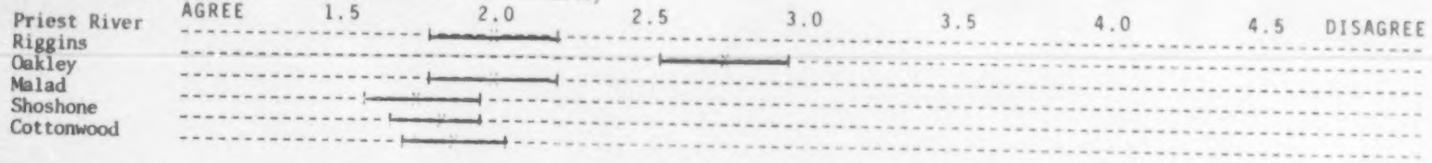
1m. *A few influential people make all the community decisions in__________.* This statement drew rather mild agreement. Although differences between towns is minor, the pattern seems to be the reverse of that for statement **1a** *(Local leaders are doing a good job of running______).* Towns which rated higher for **1a** rated lower for **1m**. This statement again exposed some polarity in the Oakley responses (or at least a reluctance to answer "not sure"). Because only 7.5% of the Oakley respondents were not sure, Oakley showed the greatest agreement with the statement (55.8%), as well as the greatest disagreement (36.7%).

1n. *It is difficult to get appliances or cars repaired in________.* One would expect that ease of getting repair services would be related to the size of the community, and the survey results seem to confirm that hypothesis. Except for Cottonwood, the smaller town residents tended to agree more fully with the statement. The smallest town, Riggins, reported the most difficulty while Malad, the largest town, reported the least. Possibly the ready access from Cottonwood to Grangeville and Lewiston prompted a more favorable than expected response from that town.

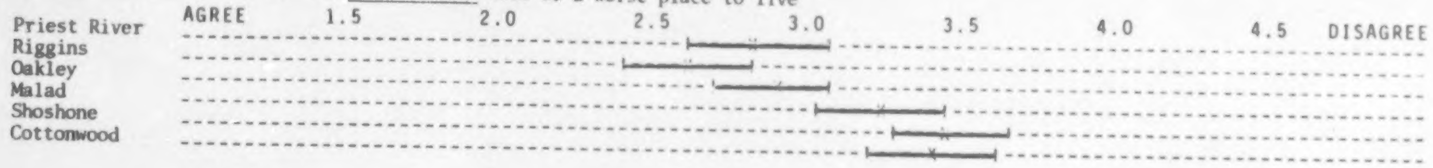
1o. *It is much cheaper to live in small towns than in large cities.* For the aggregate sample this statement prompted 60.8% agreement. The only significant difference seems to be between Oakley and Malad — Oakley registering 70.0% agreement and Malad showing 51.4% agreement.

Exhibit 5.9 (continued)

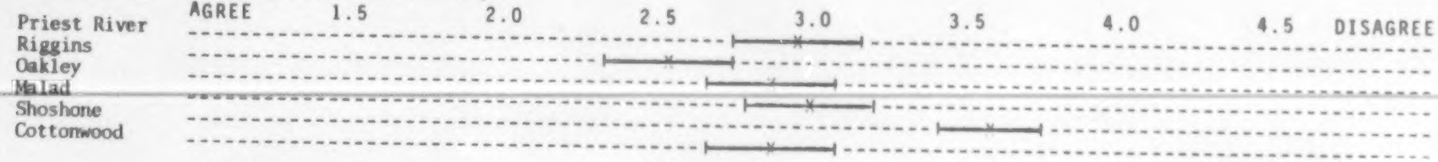
r. ___________ should encourage new business and industry



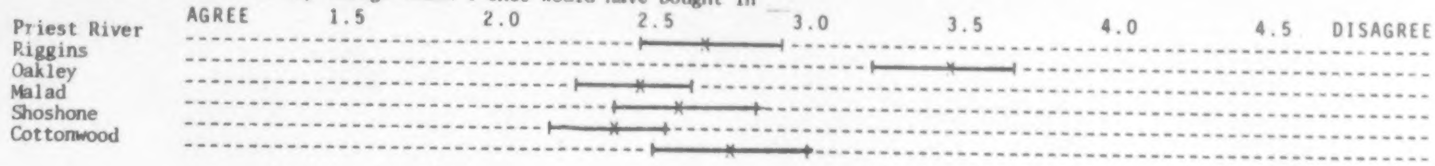
s. If a lot of outsiders move in, ___________ will be a worse place to live



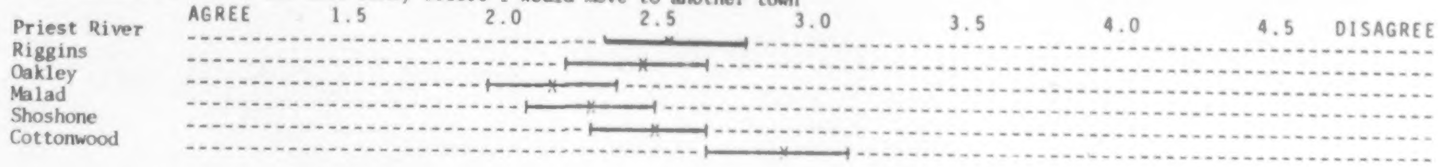
t. ___________ is a healthy, growing community



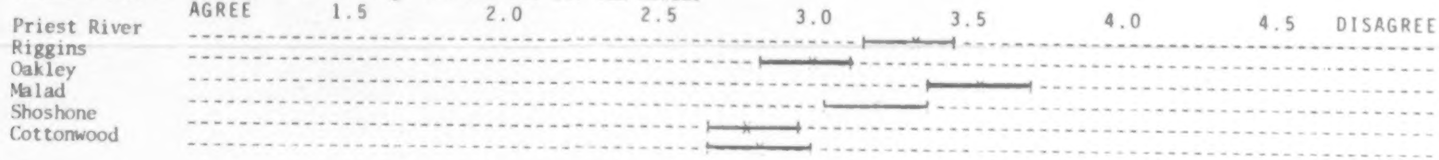
u. I now drive elsewhere to buy things which I once would have bought in ___



v. I would have to earn a lot more money before I would move to another town



5.a. ___________ is getting above average returns for its tax dollar



1p. *Local attitudes tend to delay needed changes in________.* The extent of the agreement with this assertion is surprising. A majority (57.7%) agreed, while another quarter (23.1%) were not sure. Agreement was strongest in Malad where 73.6% chose that position, and weakest in Riggins where only 40.8% felt that local attitudes obstruct needed change.

1q. *Opportunities in__________encourage young people to make homes there.* The strong negative response suggests that the exodus of young people is among the major concerns of small communities. For the aggregate sample 80.3% disagreed or strongly disagreed with the assertion. In Shoshone only 4.7% of the respondents would agree that young people have ample opportunities. In contrast, 17.6% of the Oakley respondents felt that the opportunities were there. Lacking a further objective measure, seeing if the Oakley response reflected truly greater opportunity or simply a more enthusiastic defense of the town was difficult.

1r.__________*should encourage new business and industry.* The response for this statement was discussed above along with 1k.

1s. *If a lot of outsiders move in,____________will be a worse place to live.* The responses to this statement show some interesting differences. On the side of agreeing with the statement were Riggins (51.7% agree and strongly agree), Priest River (38.1%) and Oakley (32.7%). More toward the disagree side were Shoshone (19.3% agree and strongly agree) Cottonwood (18.6%) and Malad (28.3%). The Riggins case is especially interesting in light of some of the other responses. Riggins' residents appear somewhat dubious about the virtues of growth.

1t.___________*is a healthy, growing community.* Of the towns that were chosen for the survey, only Oakley showed population growth between 1960 and 1970. Yet, in a survey administered in the fall of 1973, 40.2% of the respondents felt that their community was healthy and growing. A reluctance to admit to decline even if demonstrably present would be understandable. The strength of the positive response (66.1% agreement) for Riggins might possibly be traced to growth and changes that have occurred subsequent to the 1970 Census of Population. The relative uncertainty in Shoshone shows in its reaction to this question (only 16.8% agreement).

1u. *I now drive elsewhere to buy things I once would have bought in________.* A major hypothesis of this study is that people, either by choice or necessity, are now traveling outside of their local community to obtain things once purchased locally. The hypothesis seems to be confirmed by agreement ranging from 52.7% for Cottonwood to 70.7% for Shoshone. The Riggins response of only 29.5% agreement stands out alone. Apparently nobody ever did buy much of anything in Riggins. (Riggins never had as well developed a business district as the other towns.)

1v. *I would have to earn a lot more money before I would move to another town.* People are willing to pay some penalty for staying in the small community where they now live. Agreement with this assertion ranged from 72.5% for Oakley down to 47.7% for Cottonwood. The 37.5% of Cottonwood respondents who disagreed with this statement probably include many of the same Cottonwood residents who responded in 1l and 5j that they were seeking work elsewhere or planned to move in the foreseeable future.

5a.__________*is getting above average returns for its tax dollar.* In this era of defeated levy elections and unsuccessful bond issue votes surprisingly this statement did not generate more disagreement. Most respondents were not sure (51.1%). The most critical of its returns to tax dollars were Oakley residents (50.0% disagreement), and Malad (36.0%) and Priest River (32.1%) respondents.

5b. *People in________dislike things that threaten the status quo.* This question has people judging their community, not themselves, in its reaction to change. Responses for the six towns varied little, except that more people in Priest River were not sure. Agreement to this question ranged from 49.0% for Priest River up to 70.7% for Shoshone. The comparison with 1p (*Local attitudes tend to delay needed changes in ________*) is interesting. Statement 5b is a bit less critical of the community. Disliking to see the status quo threatened is not necessarily bad. However, we see that change itself involves cost for a community.

5c.__________*would be better if it had concerts, plays and art shows.* Certain items of "culture" are supposedly deficient in small community areas. The question is whether they are missed. The aggregate response was fairly well divided between agreement (38.5%), disagreement (31.2%) and not sure (30.2%). On the balance they are not missed too severely. Oakley was somewhat more favorably inclined to added cultural offerings while Priest River and Riggins were a bit more skeptical that they would be of any benefit.

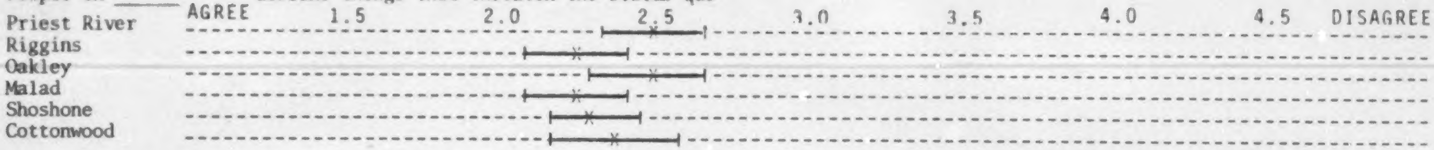
5d.___________*is too inconvenient to make it my permanent home.* The strong dissent shown this statement is quite consistent with the reaction to several of the other statements. It is a display of strong loyalty to one's home community. Again, Oakley is most emphatic in its loyalty (90.8% disagreement), while Cottonwood (67.0%) and Priest River (67.6%) are a bit more muted in their reaction.

5e. *Most people in__________are willing to help others in time of need.* This question drew the strongest reaction of any in the questionnaire — 90.0% of all the respondents agreed. Perhaps the communities of Riggins, Oakley, and Malad are a bit more close knit and supportive of their residents. Agreement for these three towns ranged from 93.2 to 95.8%, with between 55.7 and 61.7% of the respondents from these towns checking "strongly agree". Less agreement came from the towns of Priest River, Shoshone, and Cottonwood (82.7 to 89.1%) and the agreement was less intense with only 22.1 to 32.2% of these respondents selecting "strongly agree".

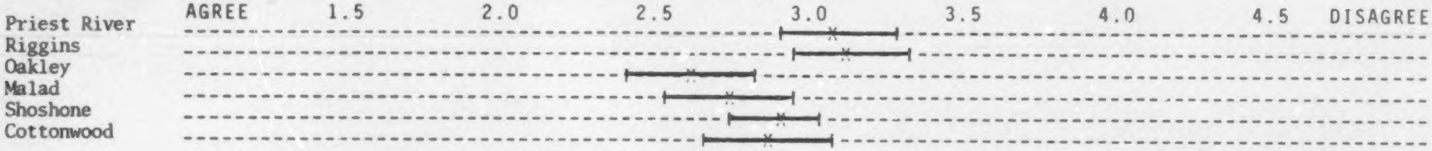
5f.__________*is a very good place for raising children.* The agreement with this statement was very strong although less extreme than for 5e. Oakley respondents were most emphatic about the virtues of their town for child rearing. None of the Oakley respondents disagreed and only 5.8% were not sure. Priest River was more critical, with 20.2% of the sample disagreeing that the town was a good place for

Exhibit 5.9 (continued)

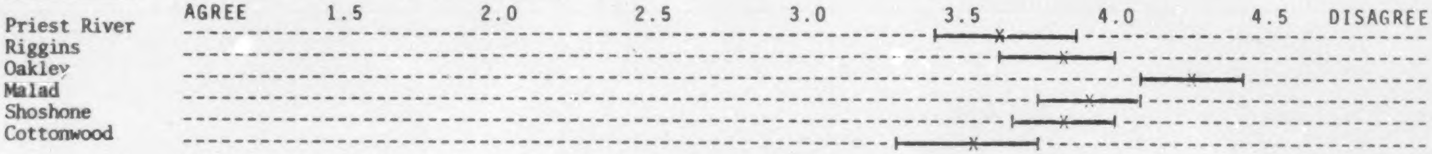
b. People in _____ dislike things that threaten the status quo



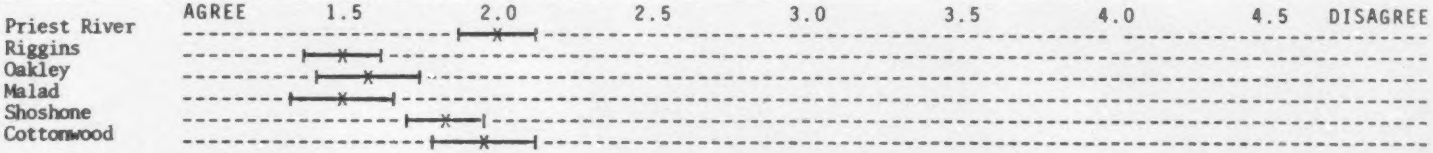
c. ___________ would be better if it had concerts, plays and art shows



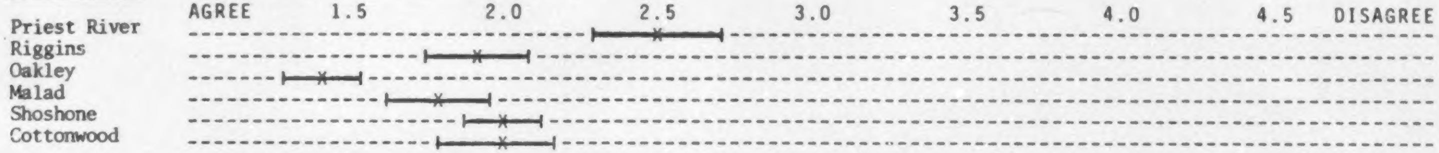
d. ___________ is too inconvenient to make it my permanent home



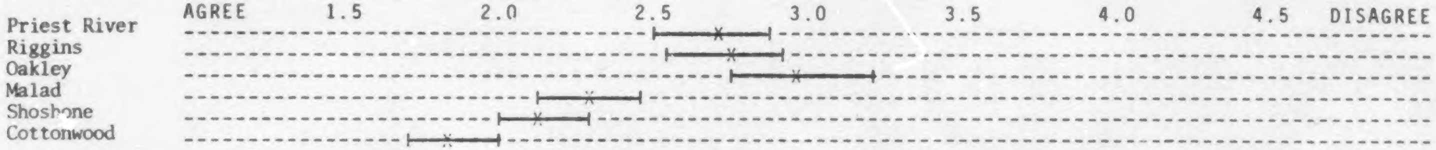
e. Most people in ___________ are willing to help others in time of need



f. ___________ is a very good place for raising children



g. The police and fire protection in ___________ is adequate



raising children. Perhaps this is a tie to the relatively low marks Priest River respondents gave their school systems in 1j *(Public education in* ______________ *is better than average)* and 5l *(* ______________ *schools prepare children well for jobs they are likely to get).*

5g. *The police and fire protection in* __________ *is adequate.* Response to this sentence included some interesting differences among the towns. While the aggregate response tended toward agreement, 19.0% disagreed. Cottonwood (90.1% agreement), Shoshone (82.8% agreement) and Malad (71.8%) were most agreeable, while Oakley (50.8% agreement), Riggins (50.3%), and Priest River (50.5%) were somewhat more critical. One suspects that the reaction to this question would be highly colored by any recent incidents involving either police or fire protection.

5h. *My present job makes adequate use of my skills, training and education.* Job satisfaction did not appear to be a major problem for residents of these six towns. Differences between the way residents of each community responded to the statement were quite minor. This question had one of the higher incidences of people who did not mark any response (16.6%) probably reflecting the numbers of housewives and retired people in the sample.

5i. ______________ *is a pretty boring place to live.* This is a much stronger statement than 1e *(Recreation and entertainment opportunities are good in* __________*)*, so a 69.9% disagree response was hardly surprising. However, in two towns (Cottonwood and Priest River) nearly a third of the respondents agreed that life could be more exciting.

5j. *I have plans to move from this community in the foreseeable future.* For a discussion of the response to this statement, see **1l.**

5k. *Adequate credit at reasonable rates is available in* ____________. In the aggregate it appears that credit availability is not a major gripe since 62.6% of the responses showed agreement. Oakley stands out as the exception with 68.1% of the respondents disagreeing with the statement. Since Oakley is the only one of the towns lacking a bank, this response is plausible.

5l. ____________ *schools prepare children well for jobs they are likely to get.* As was true for question 1j *(Public education in* __________ *is better than average)*, opinions about the school system were divided, but not too critical. An aggregate 44.5% of all respondents agreed that the schools do a good job of preparation, while 30.0% chose to disagree. The most critical were Priest River where only 29.8% chose to agree, Riggins with 31.6% agreement, and Shoshone with 38.9% agreement. The greatest faith in the schools was evident in Cottonwood where 63.4% of the respondents agreed with the statement. It would be intriguing to know something about differences between the towns in the communities' aspirations for their children — and how this would relate to their responses to this question.

5m. *I want my children to get jobs and settle in this community.* This rather pointed question drew a rather mixed response; 33.8% of the aggregate respondents agreed with the statement and 38.7% were not sure — leaving 27.5% who responded that they didn't want their offspring to settle in the community. The responses didn't vary too much by community, although Oakley and Malad seemed a bit more anxious to hold on to their children.

(Question 7)

A major purpose of the study was to find where people go to obtain goods and services — within the community or outside in some larger town. Questions 2 and 7 are designed to examine the pattern underlying these purchases as well as changes in that pattern over time. Exhibit 5.10 shows the aggregate responses when people were asked what portion of their purchases was made in the local community. The results are quite variable, showing the way that purchase patterns are dependent on what article one is talking about. These results at least suggest a confirmation of what was said in the theoretical development of Chapter II.

Gas and oil and banking stand out as items for which people depend most heavily on local establishments. Of all the respondents, 66.1% said that they bought most or all of their gas and oil from local establishments. Similarly, 61.7% did most or all of their banking locally. These are items for which a convenient, nearby source is almost necessary. A customer would feel foolish to drive to a larger town solely to fill up his gas tank or to deposit his paycheck. The technology of gas and oil retailing and of the local bank office are such that the small town establishments can compete fairly effectively with those in larger towns.

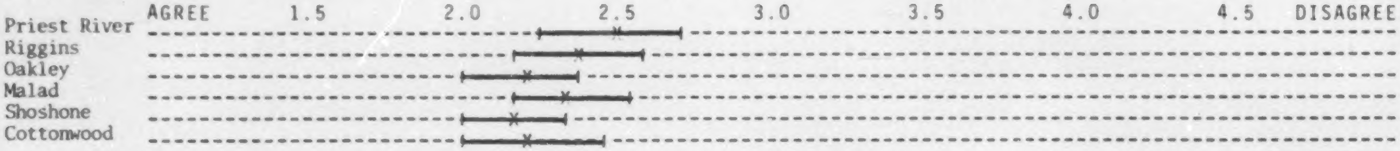
Items for which a disproportionately small amount of purchases are made locally include clothing and shoes, hospital or clinic services, farm equipment, and automobiles. The portion of the respondents who bought between none and half of their purchases of these items locally ranged from 74.7 to 87.1%. Purchases of automobiles and farm equipment are fairly infrequent so the necessity of these occasional shopping trips is not burdensome. Also, apparel purchases can usually be deferred and then made during these occasional shopping pilgrimages to the larger city. In fact, these trips may become enjoyable social and recreational events. The retailing technology for these items is important also. The large volume auto or farm equipment dealer, located in a large town and serving a wide area, is able to underprice and outsell the low volume local dealership. The city department store is able to outcompete the small town clothing store or shoe store.

The case of hospital or clinic services is clearly one of technology. The technology of hospitals does not permit them to exist in very small communities. Their cost would be too high and their use would be too infrequent. Even though most small town people would love to have a good hospital within their community, most have to travel elsewhere for such services.

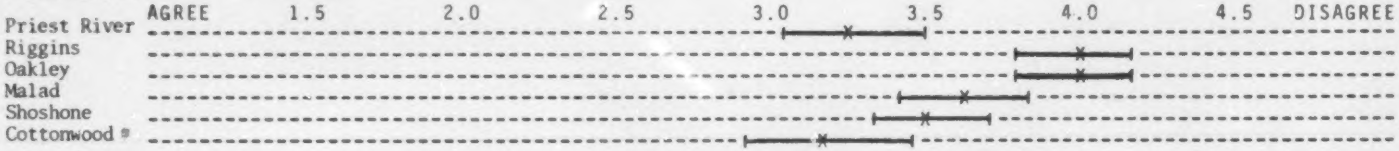
An interesting intermediate example is groceries. Since at least some perishable grocery items must be purchased frequently, a nearby store would cut the need for frequent long trips. However, the technology of the city supermarket allows prices lower than would sustain the small volume community grocery store. If one could look behind the figures produced

Exhibit 5.9 (continued)

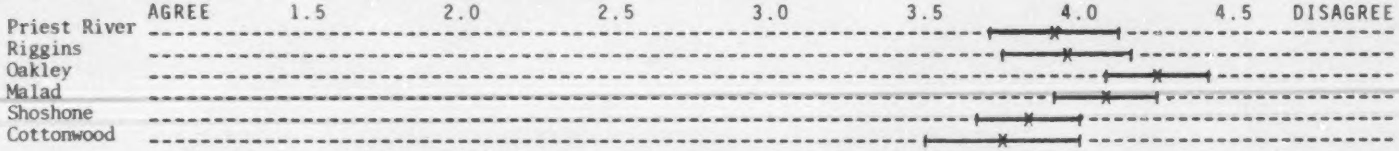
h. My present job makes adequate use of my skills, training and education



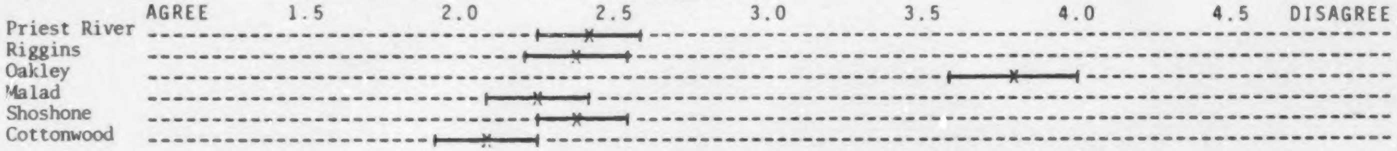
i. ___________ is a pretty boring place to live



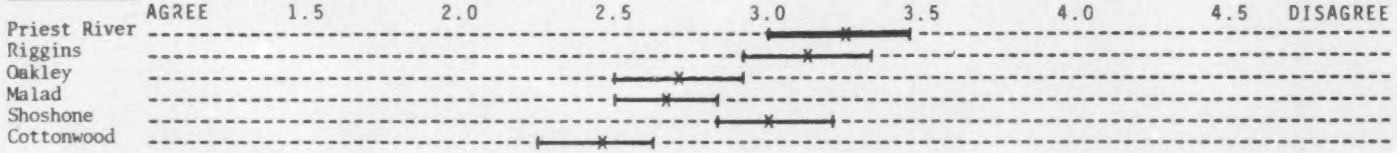
j. I have plans to move from this community in the foreseeable future



k. Adequate credit at reasonable interest is available in ___________



l. ___________ schools prepare children well for jobs they are likely to get



m. I want my children to get jobs and settle in this community

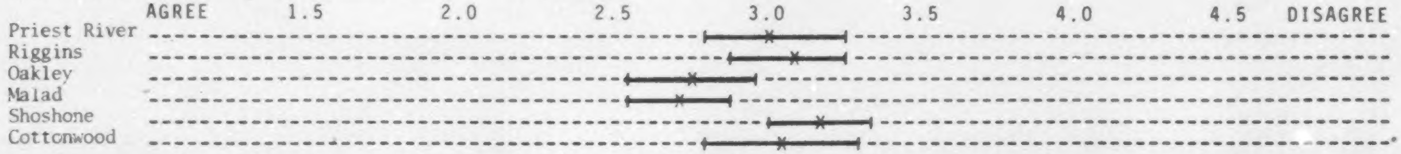
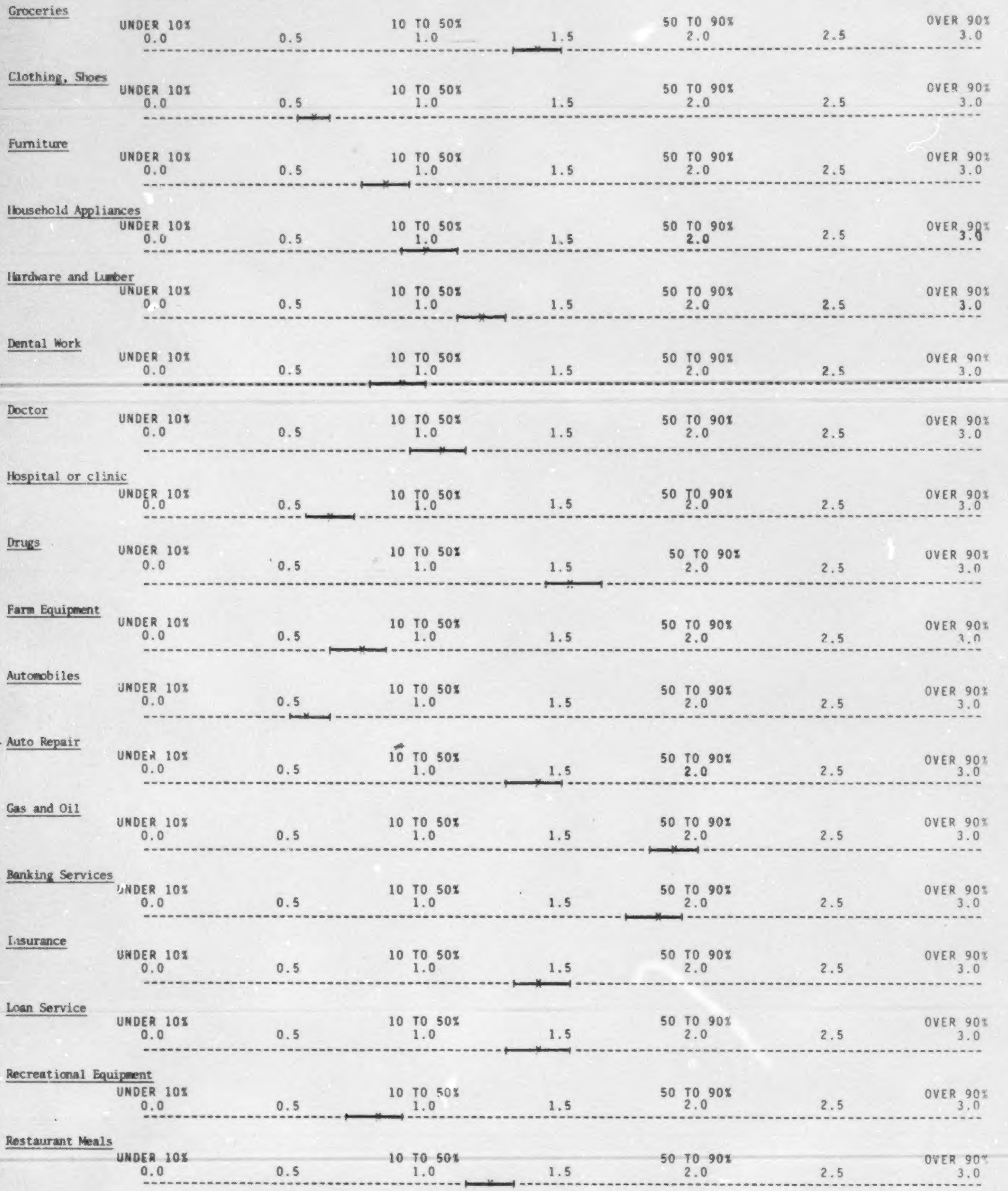


Exhibit 5.10: Aggregate Responses for Portion of Purchases in Survey Town

7. For the goods and services listed below, please indicate about what portion of your household purchases over the past several years were made in ___________.



by the survey, one would undoubtedly find that small town people often make some purchases of convenience and perishable items locally — but stock up on storable basic commodities during their trips to town.

The response patterns by town will be looked at in more detail along with the results from question 2.

(Question 2)

Changes over time in the place where people go to obtain goods or services are very important in gauging the health of the local business establishments. Question 2 asks directly whether a larger or smaller portion of purchases of certain items was made in the local town, compared to five years ago. Exhibit 5.11 shows the aggregate results for the six towns. The first obvious conclusion is that, for the goods and services mentioned, most respondents indicated that they made less of their purchases locally, or at best they have made no changes in their purchasing patterns.

Again, clothing and shoes stand out as the most extreme case with 45.2% of the respondents saying that they buy a smaller proportion of their apparel locally than they did five years ago. Only 3.4% of the respondents from the six towns said they made more local purchases. This confirms our suspicions mentioned in the analysis of question 7. Apparel is a clear example of an item once purchased locally in small towns, but an item for which better transportation and changing retail methods have meant the demise of the small town store.

Again, the other extreme is represented by gas and oil, and banking — with only 12.1 and 13.6% responding that less was purchased locally than five years ago.

The differences between purchasing patterns found in the six survey towns can provide further insight. These survey results by town are found in Exhibits 5.12 to 5.14. Exhibit 5.12 shows the variation in how much of the various items was obtained locally. Exhibit 5.13 shows the differences between towns in how much was purchased in the local community. Exhibit 5.14 describes where the respondents go to get things when they must go outside their community.

Groceries. Of the Priest River respondents, 54.4% indicated that they buy almost none of their groceries in Priest River — the least local grocery purchases of any of the six towns. When asked what other towns were important for grocery shopping, the Priest River respondents most frequently mentioned the Newport-Oldtown area located on the state line less than 10 miles west of Priest River. Spokane (50 miles SW) and Sandpoint (20 miles E) were also mentioned as grocery shopping destinations.

Malad shoppers were most loyal to their local grocery stores — 71.4% of the respondents buy at least half of their groceries in Malad. When Malad residents do go outside to buy groceries, 37.5% indicated they go north to Pocatello (60 miles), and the rest go south into Utah to Logan (22.9%, 55 miles), Ogden (16.7%, 70 miles), Tremonton (14.6%, 30 miles), and Brigham City (8.3%, 45 miles).

Cottonwood has seen the most change in grocery purchase patterns — 55.0% of its respondents said they buy less groceries in Cottonwood than they did five years ago. The upgrading of U.S. 95 has allowed more people to do grocery shopping in Lewiston (56.5%, 60 miles NW) and Grangeville (14.5%, 15 miles SE). The other towns mentioned by Cottonwood area respondents, such as Keuterville, Craigmont, Greencreek, Fenn, and Ferdinand may actually have been closer and more convenient than Cottonwood for some of the respondents living in peripheral parts of the Cottonwood sample area.

Riggins respondents, when they went outside to buy groceries, went north to Grangeville (27.9%, 50 miles) and beyond to Lewiston (19.7%, 125 miles), or south to Ontario, Ore., (13.1%, 135 miles) and Boise (18.0%, 160 miles).

When Oakley people buy groceries outside the community, most of them go north to Burley (96.4%, 20 miles). Shoshone respondents concentrated their outside purchases in Twin Falls (77.1%, 20 miles) to the south, with some people patronizing Gooding (10.5%, 15 miles W) and Jerome (5.7%, 15 miles SW).

Clothing, Shoes. Responses from most of the town suggest that most apparel purchases are made outside the community and that the situation was more extreme than five years ago. Malad seems to be resisting this trend — only 17.8% of its respondents admitted to buying little or none of their clothing in Malad. For the other five towns this ranged from 48.2 to 80.9%. When Malad customers go outside to buy apparel, they go to Logan (40.6%), Pocatello (23.4%), or Ogden (15.6%). The pattern for apparel purchasing shows a greater tendency to concentrate on a few destinations with good shopping opportunities than was the case for groceries. This would support the hypothesis that clothes purchase needs can be deferred until a major shopping trip to the larger town.

We have seen that Malad concentrates its apparel purchases in Logan. Priest River residents tend to go to Spokane, Riggins respondents depend more heavily on Boise than they did for food, Oakley still depends mostly on Burley but a few customers are going on to larger Twin Falls, Shoshone concentrates its clothing purchases very heavily in Twin Falls, and more Cottonwood respondents were driving to Lewiston for apparel than was true for groceries.

Furniture. Responses to the furniture question varied sharply from town to town. In Oakley, 97.2% and in Riggins 96.9% responded that they buy little or no furniture in that town. No furniture stores are located there. The local offerings in Malad, Shoshone, and Cottonwood must be better since they manage to capture more of the local business. The other towns where people go to buy furniture are about the same as for apparel. Purchases of furniture are discretionary and infrequent (the shopping expedition explanation) although getting the purchases back home could be a bit more trouble than for clothing or shoes.

Household appliances. The purchase patterns for household appliances follow very closely what was observed for furniture, with only a few minor deviations where some particular town apparently has an appliance store with a loyal following.

Hardware, Lumber. A moderate portion of these items seems to be purchased within the local communities except for Oakley where 92.9% said they bought little or no hardware or lumber in Oakley. This repeated finding that people buy very little in

Exhibit 5.11: Aggregate Responses on Change in Purchases Made in Survey Town

2. Compared with 5 years ago, are a larger or smaller proportion of your purchases of the following items made in ___________?
(If you moved into the community within the last 5 years, skip this question).

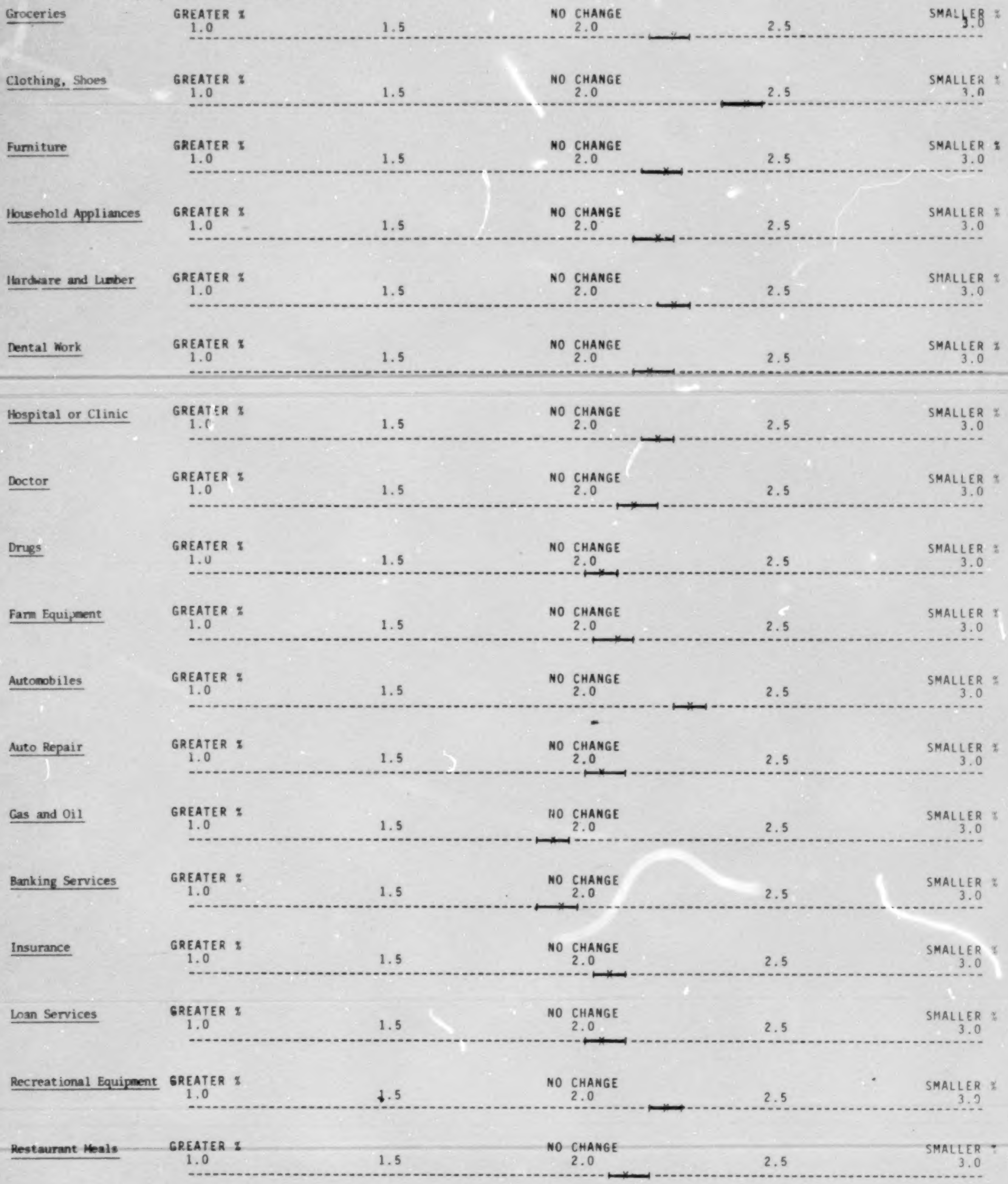
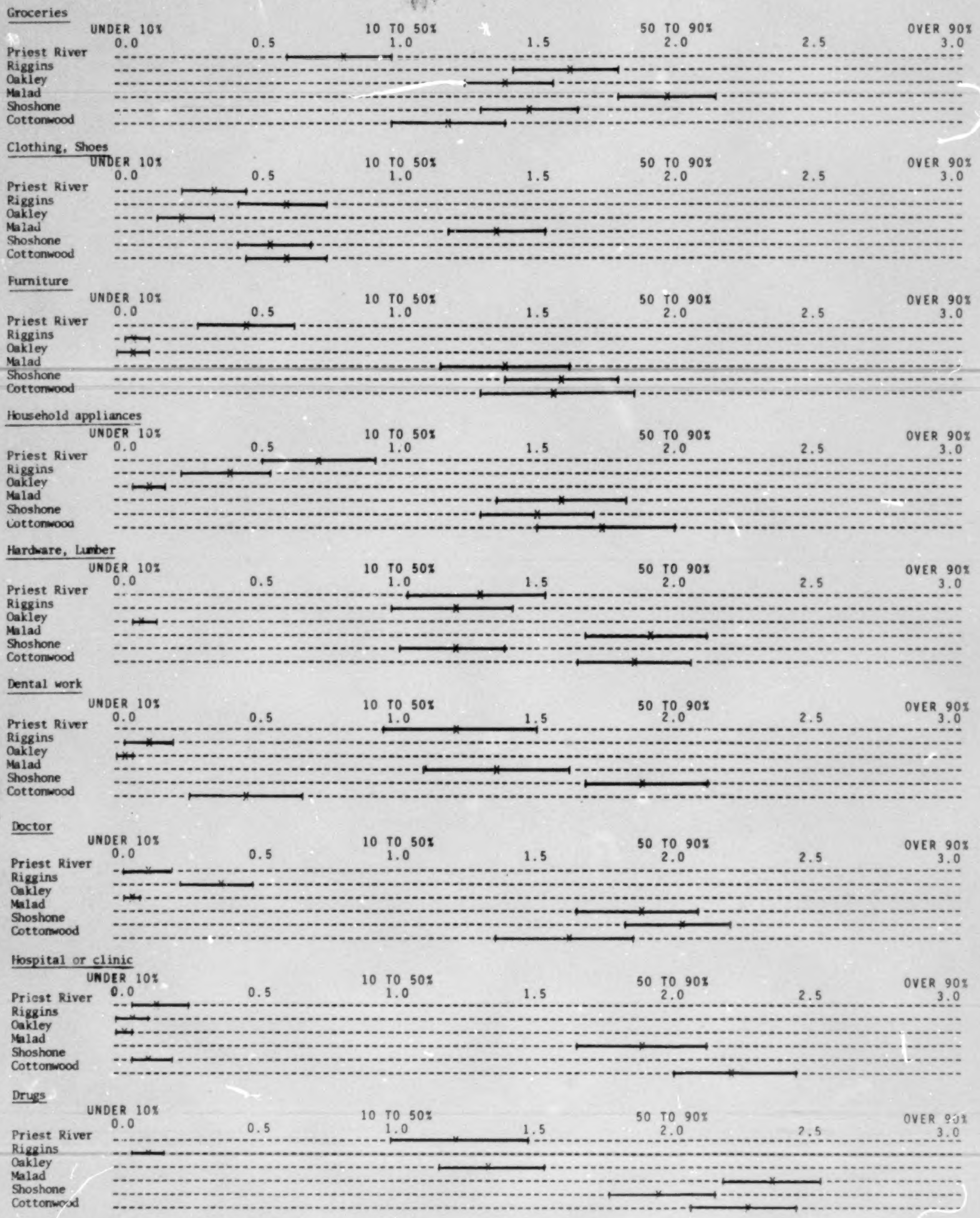


Exhibit 5.12: Response for Portion of Purchases Made in Each Survey Town

7. For the goods and services listed below, please indicate about what portion of your household purchases over the past several years were made in ___________.



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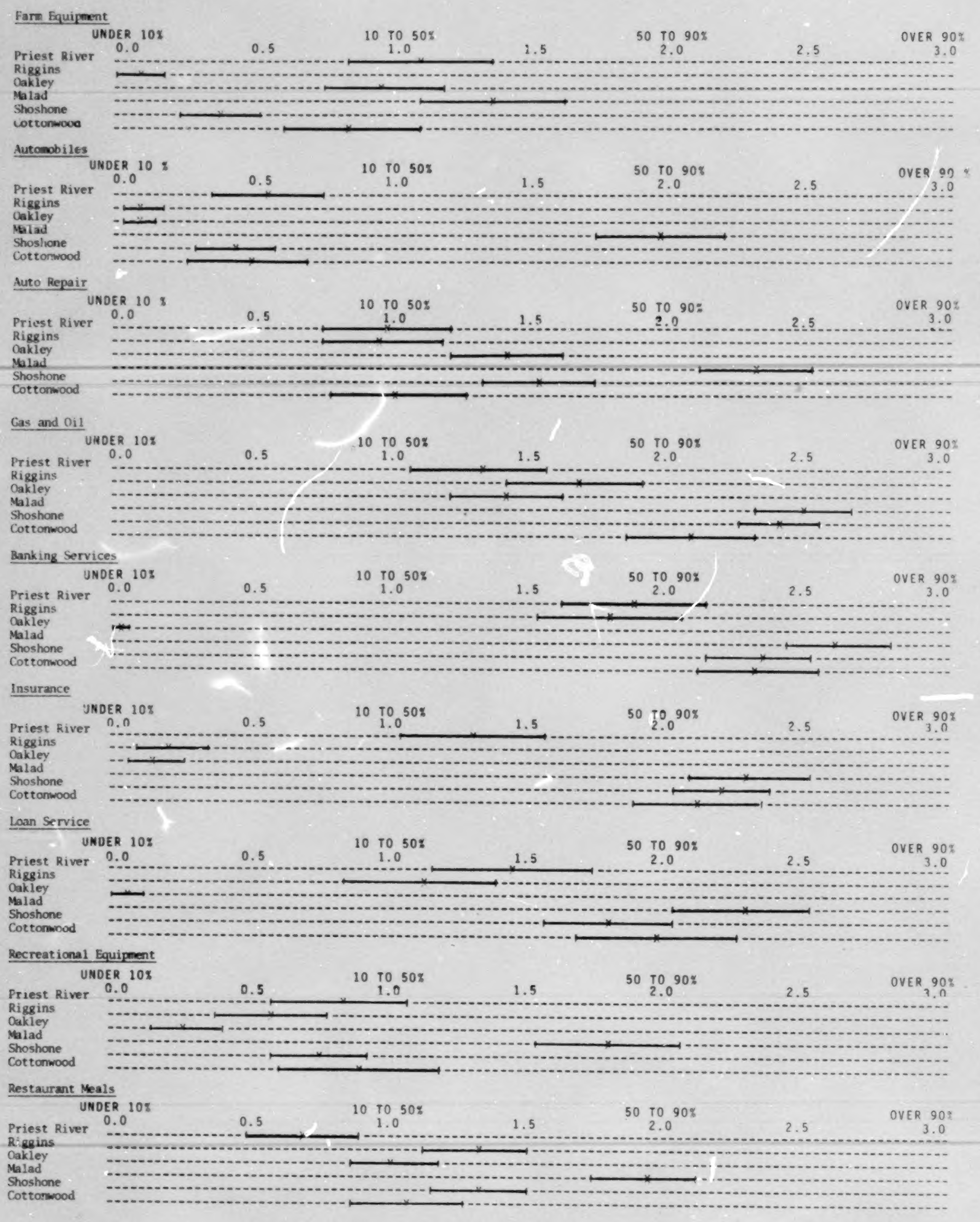


Farm Equipment

Automobiles

Auto Repair

Gas and Oil

Banking Services

Insurance

Loan Service

Recreational Equipment

Restaurant Meals

Oakley is entirely plausible. As one of the smallest towns in the sample, and with fairly quick access into Burley, Oakley would be expected to offer few goods or commercial services. In both Oakley and Shoshone many respondents (55.6 and 54.5%) stated that they buy less hardware or lumber locally than they did five years ago. Results like this would strongly imply that some establishments were closed during the period in those towns.

Purchases of lumber and hardware outside the region display some interesting patterns. Of course lumber is a bulky item making long distance transportation a problem so purchases are not too distant from the community. Priest River respondents who buy lumber elsewhere go to Sandpoint, Newport, or Oldtown and only 22.2% to more distant Spokane. For Riggins purchasers of building supplies, New Meadows emerges as a destination along with Grangeville. Oakley, as always, relies on Burley. Malad buys some of its lumber and hardware in Smithfield, Logan, and Ogden. Shoshone buys fairly heavily from Jerome and Gooding in addition to Twin Falls, and Keuterville shows up as a place for Cottonwood residents to buy lumber in addition to Lewiston and Grangeville. The problem of transporting lumber purchases too far, along with the tenacity of the owners have apparently allowed lumber-hardware establishments to survive in places like Smithfield, Keuterville, New Meadows, and Oldtown.

Dental Work. Essentially no dental work was obtained by respondents in Oakley or Riggins. Cottonwood, Priest River, and Malad are intermediate cases, while Shoshone respondents utilize their local dental facilities quite extensively — 63.9% get over half of their dental treatment in Shoshone. Cottonwood, Riggins, and Oakley respondents tended to say that less of their dental work was done locally than five years ago. Of course, where people go for dental work depends on where the dentist chooses to locate and an analysis of dentists (or doctors) location choices would be another entire study. Priest River respondents indicated that they go to Spokane and Sandpoint, and a few to Newport. A majority of Riggins people went to dentists in McCall, with others going to Grangeville and as far as Council, Boise, or Lewiston. Twin Falls, in addition to Burley, exerts some pull on Oakley. Tremonton, Utah, and Downey show up as destinations for Malad residents seeking dental work. Shoshone relies as usual on Twin Falls, Jerome, and Gooding. And Cottonwood relies very heavily on Grangeville dentists.

Doctor. Very little doctor attention is available in the communities of Priest River, Riggins, or Oakley, while residents of the other three towns rely quite heavily on local doctors. Priest River and Oakley respondents thought this was a deterioration from the situation five years ago, while respondents from the other four towns tended to see little change. Newport emerges as the prime destination of Priest River people seeking a doctor, with others going to Spokane and Sandpoint. Riggins people go to McCall and Grangeville, and Oakley people to Burley and Twin Falls. The few people seeking doctors outside of Malad find them in Logan, Ogden, Tremonton, Brigham City, Downey, and Pocatello. Shoshone respondents sought doctors in Twin Falls, Jerome, and Gooding, and those Cottonwood residents who didn't use local doctors went to Grangeville or Lewiston.

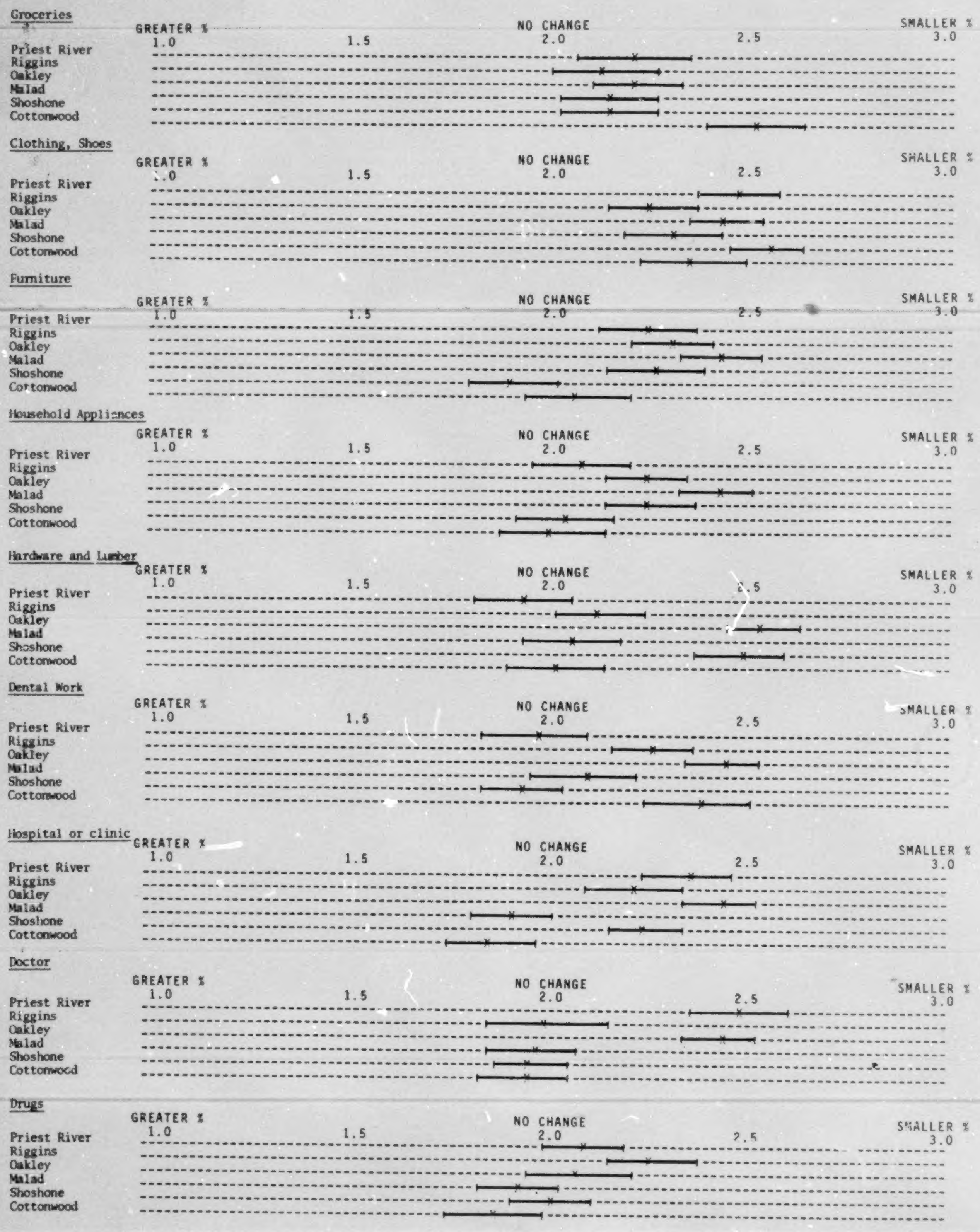
Hospital or Clinic. Lack of a hospital is a common complaint of the rural small town — a problem that afflicts Priest River, Riggins, Oakley, and Shoshone. The towns that do have hospitals, Cottonwood and Malad, seem to make quite extensive use of them. The fact that respondents in the four towns without hospitals saw the situation as worse than five years ago is puzzling. How could patronage of the local hospital or clinic decline in five years when no such facility was there? The problem may be one of semantics where respondents interpreted "clinic" as "doctor's office" and judged that their local patronage of such facilities had declined in five years. One of the problems with the distribution of doctors is that they tend to cluster in communities which have a hospital. Thus, Priest River residents go to the same places to be hospitalized as to find a doctor — Newport, Spokane, and Sandpoint. Riggins, likewise, depends on McCall and Grangeville, and Oakley on Burley and Twin Falls. Malad favors the hospitals in Logan, Ogden, and Salt Lake when it chooses not to rely on local ones. Because of the facilities available, Jerome emerges as the hospital for Shoshone patients, while the few people who don't use their local Cottonwood hospital go to Grangeville.

Drugs. The drug store is a ubiquitous institution. Most small towns can support at least a store that sells drugs. Only Riggins, among the six towns, lacks such an establishment. As an indication of the need for a convenient, nearby drug source, the towns tended to report little change in the portion of their drug purchases made locally. Drug purchases made outside of the local community tended to cluster in the same communities with doctor or hospital visits. Priest River people would purchase drugs in Newport, Spokane, and Sandpoint. New Meadows must have a popular drug store because it emerges, along with Grangeville, as the location of much of Riggins' drug purchases. Oakley relies almost entirely on Burley as an outside source for drugs. Logan emerges as a major source for Malad's drug purchases. Shoshone relies heavily on Twin Falls while Grangeville, Lewiston, and Craigmont are sources of drugs for the few people who seek them outside Cottonwood.

Farm Equipment. Many of the questionnaire respondents were active farmers, so their purchases of farm equipment is an important economic factor. Riggins reported almost no patronage of local farm equipment dealers, and Shoshone reported little. The other towns reported moderate amounts of local patronage of farm equipment stores. Two problems seem to plague the responses to this question: The first is definitional. Should a hoe used in a half acre town garden be called farm equipment? The second relates to the way the question was asked — nonfarmers tended to respond that they bought little or no farm equipment locally because in reality they didn't buy any — which is indistinguishable from the response of the large farmer who buys a lot of farm equipment outside of the local community. If one corrects from these problems, many farmers purchase farm equipment within the towns of Priest River, Oakley, Malad, and Cottonwood. Sandpoint appears along with Spokane as a source of farm equipment for Priest River farmers. Grangeville must have some good farm equipment dealers since it emerges as the prime destination for both Riggins and Cottonwood farm equipment buying. Oakley still buys such things

Exhibit 5.13: Response for Change in Purchases Made in Each Survey Town

2. Compared with 5 years ago, are a larger or smaller proportion of your purchases of the following items made in __________?
(If you moved into the community within the last 5 years, skip this question.)



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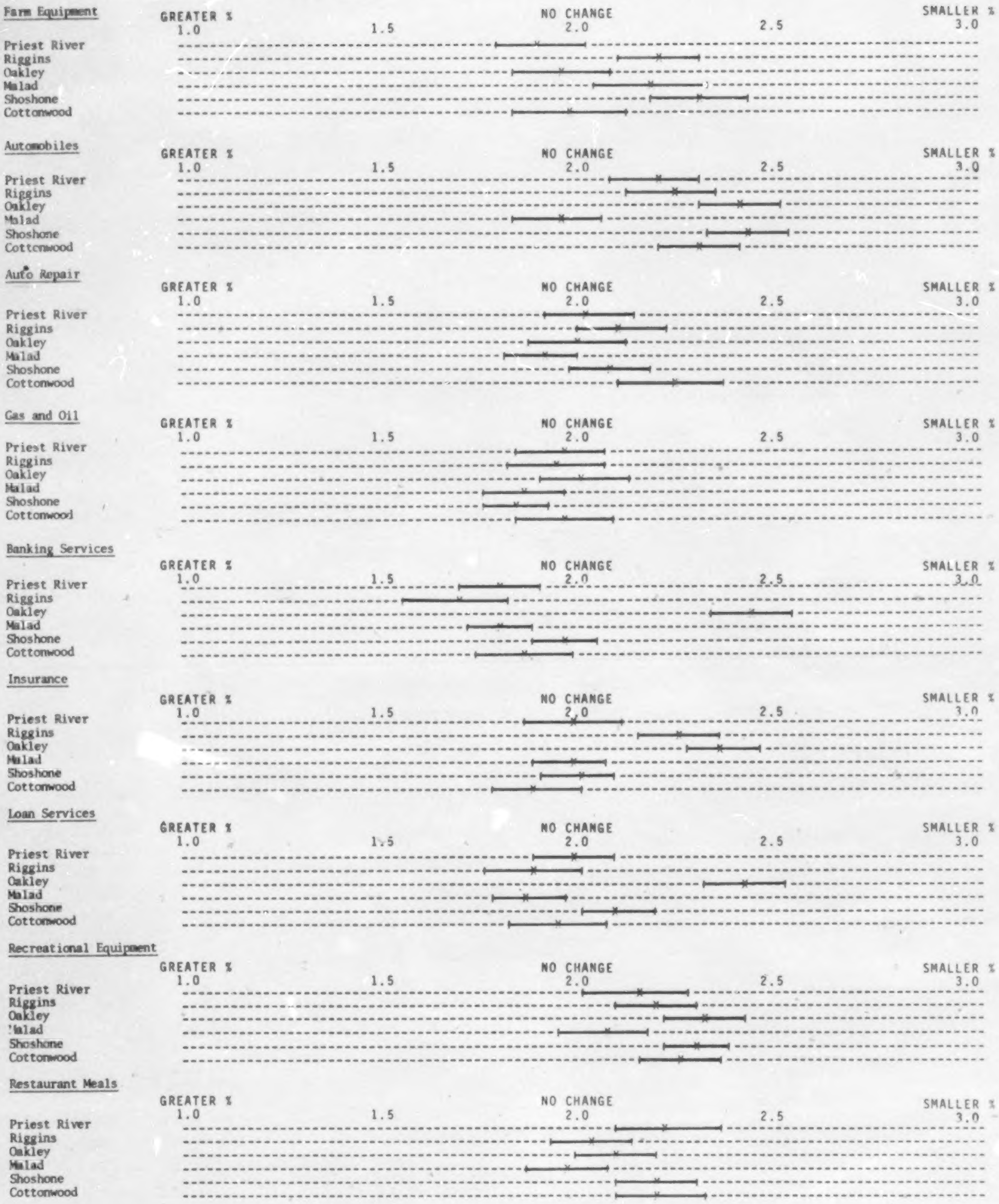


in nearby Burley, while Malad farmers travel primarily to Tremonton and a few beyond to Brigham City. Wendell also must have an active dealership since it, Twin Falls, and Gooding are where Shoshone farmers buy equipment.

Automobiles. Automobiles are one item for which the large volume dealer appears to have a distinct cost advantage. Also, the auto buyer traditionally shops around to obtain the best possible deal. Hence, Oakley and Riggins logically would have almost no local auto transactions, and Priest River, Shoshone, and Cottonwood would have little local business. Malad, the largest of the six towns, is the only one to capture a significant portion of the local auto business. Except for those from Malad, the questionnaire respondents tended to indicate less reliance on local auto dealerships. The destinations chosen for outside the community automobile buying are not much different than what was reported for other occasional purchases such as furniture or household appliances.

Auto Repair. In contrast to auto dealerships, the small scale small town auto repair shop or service station is economically viable. Local auto repair services are quite well patronized in each of the six towns. Still, with its larger size, Malad is able to exert the stronger pulling power to customers needing auto repairs. The good viability of auto repair as a small town service is illustrated in the response that people saw little change in the portion of their auto repair obtained locally. Only Cottonwood with its ready and improved access to other towns, shows some evidence of shifting away from local purchase of this service. The out of town points where auto service is obtained follow the patterns already outlined for many other items. Much auto repair business certainly goes to the dealer who sold the car, with other business being channeled to more convenient nearby points and to particular establishments which for some reason have a customer's loyalty.

Gas and oil. Fuel appears to be one of the items that is most effectively retailed in small towns. Even Priest River and Oakley with fairly quick access to nearby towns still reported 46.1 and 44.9% of the respondents bought over half of their gas and oil in town. For Shoshone or Malad, which are more isolated and self sufficient, the number buying over half rises to 85.9 and 87.2%. The only change in five years was that more respondents obtain fuel in Malad and Shoshone. Out of town purchases of fuel follow fairly closely the pattern of travel to find other things. If a person travels regularly to another town to buy groceries, to visit a doctor, or to make a bank deposit, then he may well fill up his gas tank at the same time. Special trips just to buy fuel are unlikely.

Banking Services. Except in Oakley, which has no bank, banking seems to be the one service which most effectively holds local patronage. The number of respondents who reported doing over half of their banking businesses at local banks ranged from a low of 57.8% in Riggins to a high of 88.3% in Malad. Apparently convenience and confidence in a nearby establishment must count for a good deal here. Also, the branch banks can operate offices in fairly small towns with little loss of efficiency. A bank must have recently closed in Oakley since 44.3% reported doing less banking business locally than five years ago. The other towns tended to respond to the side of greater local bank patronage. Those people who patronize banks outside of Priest River tended to go to Sandpoint or Newport, while the Riggins respondents who drive to bank go to Grangeville and a few to Council or McCall. Of the only six Malad respondents who reported using out of town banks, most went south into Utah. Fewer Shoshone people than usual went as far as Twin Falls, with Jerome and Gooding attracting much of the business along with a bank in nearby Richfield. The Cottonwood respondents who indicated out of town banking went to Grangeville and Craigmont. Oakley residents who want to find another bank go almost exclusively to Burley.

Insurance. Malad, Shoshone, and Cottonwood seem to be able to capture most of the local insurance business, while Riggins and Oakley capture very little. The insurance agent is a quite mobile person and is able to cover the smallest towns from his base of operations in a larger town. Riggins and Oakley respondents tended to think they bought less insurance locally than was true five years previously. The insurance question drew many responses that insurance was being obtained from sources outside the region. Perhaps more insurance transactions are made by mail than is true of some other items. Noting this exception, most insurance is bought from the same towns where respondents travel to do other business.

Loan Services. Almost no one obtains a loan in Oakley. The other five towns seem to capture a fair portion of the local business although a lower proportion than they do of the banking business. The Oakley respondents said they get less loans locally than they did five years ago which would follow the demise of the local bank office. Surprisingly, the Malad respondents also felt they were getting fewer local loans. In most cases the loans were obtained in the same towns as banking services.

Recreational Equipment. Despite the fact that many of these small towns are entry points to outdoor recreation areas, they do not seem to very effectively capture even the local recreation equipment business. Malad was the only town to capture a really significant proportion; 60.2% of the Malad respondents reported that over half of their purchases were in that town. For the other towns this percentage ranged from 8.1 for Oakley to 28.4 for Cottonwood. Small towns are no better equipped to offer campers, off road vehicles, snowmobiles, fishing tackle, guns, or skis than they are to sell cars or furniture. Most of the respondents agreed they had no change or some decline in their local purchase of recreational equipment. Since much recreational equipment purchasing is occasional, and allows time for shopping around, out of town purchases tend to occur in the same towns as purchases of other major items, such as furniture or autos.

Restaurant Meals. Most places worthy of the title of town have some kind of eating establishment. All of the survey towns were able to capture a portion of the local restaurant meal business, from a low of 20.0% of the Priest River respondents who take over half their business to local restaurants to a high of 66.9% who do so in Malad. The distribution between local and out of town restaurant meals has apparently

Exhibit 5.14. Estimated Purchases in Nearby Towns by Priest River Area Residents

Percent of Total Purchases of Item

	Groceries	Clothes and Shoes	Furniture	Household Appl.	Hardware and Lumber	Dental Work	Doctor	Hospital or Clinic	Drugs	Farm Equip.	Automobiles	Auto Repair	Gas and Oil	Banking	Insurance	Loan Service	Recreational Equip.	Restaurants
Priest River	24.5	13.25	16.00	22.50	41.20	38.80	7.25	8.25	38.80	33.20	18.00	29.25	42.80	65.20	41.60	47.20	25.50	22.00
1) Spokane	19.77	55.97	59.50	47.25	13.07	31.73	21.71	23.20	16.88	24.05	21.39	15.44	5.92	.94	13.11	6.60	39.32	25.02
2) Coeur D' Alene	.90	.93	1.17	1.21	1.09	---	3.95	4.22	1.06	2.67	4.75	2.57	.99	---	1.19	---	2.07	4.42
3) Sandpoint	9.89	15.86	14.00	13.32	11.98	19.27	18.75	18.98	12.66	24.05	11.88	16.72	10.85	12.23	10.73	21.45	14.49	8.83
4) Newport	17.98	6.53	4.67	10.90	20.69	9.07	48.35	45.35	29.54	8.02	36.84	33.45	30.57	21.63	22.64	21.45	14.49	33.85
5) Old Town	26.96	3.73	2.33	1.21	11.98	---	---	---	---	2.67	5.94	2.57	6.90	---	---	---	2.07	5.89
6) Blanchard	---	---	---	1.21	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
7) Coolin	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.97	---	---	---	---	---

Percent of Total Purchases of Items

	Groceries	Clothes and Shoes	Furniture	Household Appl.	Hardware and Lumber	Dental Work	Doctor	Hospital or Clinic	Drugs	Farm Equip.	Automobiles	Auto Repair	Gas and Oil	Banking	Insurance	Loan Service	Recreational Equip.	Restaurants
Riggins	54.4	19.5	6.0	14.3	38.0	7.0	13.5	6.0	7.0	6.5	6.8	28.8	56.8	61.6	9.8	34.4	19.3	42.4
1) Grangeville	12.7	26.8	34.1	37.4	23.3	23.8	26.4	24.4	30.1	69.6	40.9	43.0	21.6	21.9	51.4	37.5	31.7	22.7
2) White Bird	2.2	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.2	3.1	---	---	---	---	6.1
3) Boise	8.2	25.8	28.2	24.2	5.8	5.2	2.7	2.8	1.9	11.9	18.2	4.9	1.0	.8	7.8	4.7	19.0	13.6
4) Lewiston	9.0	11.4	12.9	11.0	1.9	3.1	---	1.9	---	4.0	8.0	2.5	---	---	2.9	1.6	12.7	1.5
5) Ontario	6.0	1.0	3.5	3.3	---	1.0	---	---	.9	---	1.1	1.2	1.0	.8	---	1.6	---	---
6) New Meadow	2.2	2.1	---	1.1	25.2	2.1	---	.9	41.3	6.0	---	1.2	6.2	---	---	3.1	---	1.5
7) McCall	2.2	1.0	3.5	---	3.9	49.6	38.2	40.4	12.2	---	1.1	8.6	2.1	2.4	15.5	4.7	11.1	6.1
8) Cottonwood	---	---	1.2	---	---	1.0	2.7	4.7	1.9	---	---	---	---	---	1.9	3.1	---	---
9) Council	---	---	---	---	---	3.1	11.8	15.0	3.8	---	1.1	---	---	4.7	1.9	4.7	---	---
10) Parma	---	---	3.5	1.1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
11) Wiser	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	9.1	1.2	---	.8	---	1.6	---	---
12) Donnelly	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	3.1	---	---	---	---	---
13) Payette	---	---	---	---	---	---	.9	---	---	---	1.1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
14) Craigmont	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	2.9	---	---	---
15) Cascade	---	---	1.2	---	---	---	.9	.9	---	---	1.1	1.2	---	1.6	---	1.6	---	---
16) Kamiah	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.1	1.2	---	---	---	---	---	---
17) Pollock Pinehurst	1.5	---	---	---	---	1.0	---	---	---	---	---	1.2	2.1	---	---	---	---	1.5
18) Lucilie Slate Creek	.8	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	2.5	---	---	---	---	---	1.5

Exhibit 5.14 (continued) Estimated Purchases in Nearby Towns by Oakley Area Residents

	Groceries	Clothes and Shoes	Furniture	Household Appl.	Hardware and Lumber	Dental Work	Doctor	Hospital or Clinic	Drugs	Farm Equip.	Automobiles	Auto Repair	Gas and Oil	Banking	Insurance	Loan Service	Recreational Equip.	Restaurants
Percent of Total Purchases of Item																		
Oakley	45.6	10.5	6.0	7.3	6.8	5.0	5.5	5.0	43.2	28.8	6.5	46.8	46.0	5.3	8.3	5.8	11.0	30.4
1) Burley	52.4	85.2	84.5	84.1	90.7	69.3	82.4	80.7	52.3	65.7	77.8	50.9	52.3	93.0	82.3	91.7	85.8	68.7
2) Salt Lake City	.7	---	---	.9	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.8	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
3) Twin Falls	.7	3.4	6.0	6.1	1.7	15.1	10.4	12.6	3.7	2.2	7.0	1.5	1.7	.9	6.0	---	3.2	.9
4) Shoshone	---	---	.9	.9	.9	1.8	.9	.9	---	1.1	.9	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
5) Paul	---	---	---	---	---	1.8	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
6) Rupert	---	---	.9	.9	---	2.7	.9	---	.8	2.2	3.5	---	---	---	---	1.9	---	---
7) Idaho Falls	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.7	---	---	---	---	---	---
8) Albion	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	.9	---	1.0	---	---
9) Jerome	---	---	.9	---	---	1.8	---	---	---	---	1.8	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
10) Mountain Home	.7	.9	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Percent of Total Purchases of Item																		
Malad	68.8	44.0	45.6	53.6	66.0	44.0	64.8	65.2	78.8	44.0	69.2	78.0	82.3	85.8	77.5	77.0	61.6	67.2
1) Brigham City	2.6	2.7	3.63	5.7	1.3	3.7	3.8	3.2	2.1	10.4	6.4	5.5	4.4	2.4	1.7	4.9	---	4.9
2) Logan	7.2	23.1	16.9	21.5	7.9	6.2	6.7	9.5	7.4	4.2	1.3	2.8	---	4.8	1.7	1.6	7.3	8.5
3) Ogden	5.2	8.9	9.7	5.7	6.8	6.2	6.7	6.3	2.1	4.2	6.4	4.1	3.3	2.4	3.5	3.3	9.1	4.9
4) Tremonton	4.6	2.7	7.3	1.1	---	16.2	5.7	2.1	3.2	29.0	9.0	2.8	3.3	2.4	3.5	1.6	5.5	---
5) Pocatello	11.7	13.3	6.0	5.7	2.3	6.2	3.8	4.2	3.2	4.2	3.9	2.8	2.2	---	12.1	3.3	9.1	4.9
6) Preston	---	.9	3.6	3.4	2.3	1.2	---	---	---	---	2.6	1.4	1.1	---	---	4.9	1.8	---
7) Idaho Falls	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.0	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
8) Downey	---	---	---	---	2.3	11.2	3.8	2.1	1.1	2.1	---	---	---	2.4	---	---	---	---
9) Salt Lake City	---	4.4	4.8	2.3	2.3	2.5	1.9	6.3	1.1	---	1.9	2.8	1.1	---	---	1.6	3.7	1.2
10) Smithfield	---	---	---	7.9	2.5	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Exhibit 5.14 (continued) Estimated Purchases in Nearby Towns by Shoshone Area Residents

	Groceries	Clothes and Shoes	Furniture	Household Appl.	Hardware and Lumber	Dental Work	Doctor	Hospital or Clinic	Drugs	Farm Equip.	Automobiles	Auto Repair	Gas and Oil	Banking	Insurance	Loan Service	Recreational Equip.	Restaurants
	Percent of Total Purchases of Item																	
Shoshone	48.4	18.5	53.2	50.4	38.0	65.6	70.5	7.5	68.0	13.8	15.3	51.6	80.5	78.5	75.0	61.6	23.3	43.2
1) Twin Falls	39.8	73.1	39.0	43.7	28.3	16.5	17.5	20.2	24.3	49.8	59.1	30.0	9.8	6.4	10.0	10.0	71.0	45.9
2) Jerome	3.0	3.2	3.1	2.2	18.2	11.0	5.5	62.2	2.2	6.6	6.0	3.6	3.0	2.3	1.9	0.8	1.0	1.4
3) Gooding	5.4	3.2	3.9	3.7	14.1	6.2	4.4	7.0	4.4	13.3	12.0	9.3	3.8	6.4	6.9	11.7	1.9	2.7
4) Richfield	2.5	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.4	2.3	4.7	---	4.2	---	0.7
5) Boise	---	1.3	---	---	0.7	---	0.6	0.8	---	---	2.6	0.7	---	1.2	2.5	7.5	1.0	---
6) Wendell	---	---	---	---	---	0.7	---	---	0.6	13.3	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
7) Kimberly	---	---	---	---	---	---	0.6	---	---	---	---	0.7	---	---	---	---	---	---
8) Hailey	---	---	---	---	---	---	0.6	0.8	0.6	---	1.7	---	---	---	---	---	---	0.7
9) Ketchum	---	---	---	---	---	---	0.6	1.6	---	---	1.7	0.7	---	---	---	---	1.0	---
10) Dietrich	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	0.7	---	---	---	---	---	---
11) Pocatello	1.0	---	0.8								0.9	1.4	---	0.6	0.6	0.8	---	---
	Percent of Total Purchases of Item																	
Cottonwood	37.2	20.0	52.8	59.6	64.4	16.0	54.4	75.3	76.3	25.8	16.5	30.4	72.2	78.3	72.8	68.8	27.0	32.4
1) Grangeville	9.1	16.7	7.8	7.4	5.5	57.3	38.4	18.0	10.2	54.7	46.1	43.7	8.8	8.5	9.6	15.6	20.3	31.5
2) Lewiston	35.5	56.7	36.2	33.1	13.7	24.0	4.8	4.5	6.8	11.7	28.8	8.1	5.1	---	8.0	9.4	48.7	22.5
3) Keuterville	1.0	---	---	---	13.7	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
4) Craigmont	3.0	1.1	---	---	2.7	---	1.2	---	5.1	3.9	---	11.3	10.1	9.7	3.2	3.1	---	9.0
5) Greencreek	4.1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.4	4.9	---	---	---	---	---	---
6) Fenn	5.1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.3	---	---	---	---	---
7) Ferdinand	5.1	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.3	---	---	---	---	---
8) Nezperce	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.2	---	3.1	---	---
9) Kamiah	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.3	1.2	---	---	---	---

not changed very much over five years. The slightly decreased dependence on local restaurant meals indicated for Priest River, Shoshone, and Cottonwood might be related to the increasing frequency of out of town trips to do other shopping. Since the destinations listed by those who travel out of town for restaurant meals agrees quite closely with the destinations listed for the purchase of other things, a restaurant meal may be a part of the shopping expedition. A visit to a restaurant may be a part of a trip which includes a visit to the grocery store, a dental appointment, a stop at the hardware store, and a fill-up at the gas station.

Exhibit 5.14 contains estimates of the percent of their purchases of various items which questionnaire respondents buy in their own town and in nearby towns. The estimates in the table are admittedly fairly crude. The questionnaire asked people, for each item, to indicate that less than 10%, 10 to 50%, 50 to 90%, or 90% or more of their purchases were made in the local town. Using the midpoints of these percentage ranges, and the mean response, an estimate of the portion of purchases in the home community was computed by using the mean to interpolate between the range midpoints. The respondents were asked to state the town which was next most important in their purchases of the item. The estimates allocate the purchases outside the home town to each of these other towns in direct proportion to the frequency with which they were mentioned. Although the estimates in Exhibit 5.14 are crude, they should give a relative picture of purchase patterns. Most of the purchasing and travel patterns discussed in the last few pages show up in this table.

Data from questions 2 and 7 can be used to give some hints of the market area patterns relevant to Idaho. The theoretical basis for market areas was presented in chapter 2. The theory pointed to market areas determined by the cost aspects of providing a given good or service and by the cost of travel. Since cost of providing the good or service depends on which item one is talking about, market area patterns will be different for different goods or services. The perceived cost of travel is dependent on an individual's social linkages, and on the reliablity of his car. Thus, even for a given item, market areas are not discretely bounded geographic areas but rather are overlapping areas with extremely fuzzy boundaries.

Exhibit 5.14 shows, for each of 18 product categories, which towns have market areas containing the survey town. For example, consider Priest River grocery purchases. Some Priest River respondents purchased groceries in Spokane, Coeur d'Alene, Sandpoint, Newport, and Oldtown, as well as in Priest River. Priest River is apparently located within the grocery market area of each of these towns. This information allows the construction of Exhibit 5.15, which is a first approximation to market area boundaries. The circles, representing market area boundaries, all include the town of Priest River. Conceptually, if one had similar grocery purchase information from samples conducted in all the other towns in the area, then one could put the information together to find how far the market areas for each of these towns actually run.

However, the data from questions 2 and 7 contradict the concept of discrete market areas in favor of overlapping market areas where a town has dominance over nearby customers and gradually diminishing loyalty from more distant shoppers. If this is true, then the usual market area concept itself is useful only in a theoretical sense, not in an empirical policy sense. Because of this ambiguity as to exactly what a market area was, this report has focused instead on the more positivistic approach of asking where people actually do go to obtain their goods and services. If one adopts this more positivistic approach, then the data in Exhibit 5.14 are adequate to describe the shopping interrelations between the survey towns and other nearby towns. Or, if one prefers to use graphs, then Exhibit 5.16 contains the relevant information on grocery purchases by Priest River residents. The area of the circles represents the estimated volume of purchases at each shopping destination. Maps corresponding to Exhibit 5.16 for each of the survey towns and for each of the 18 items, are available from the authors of this report.

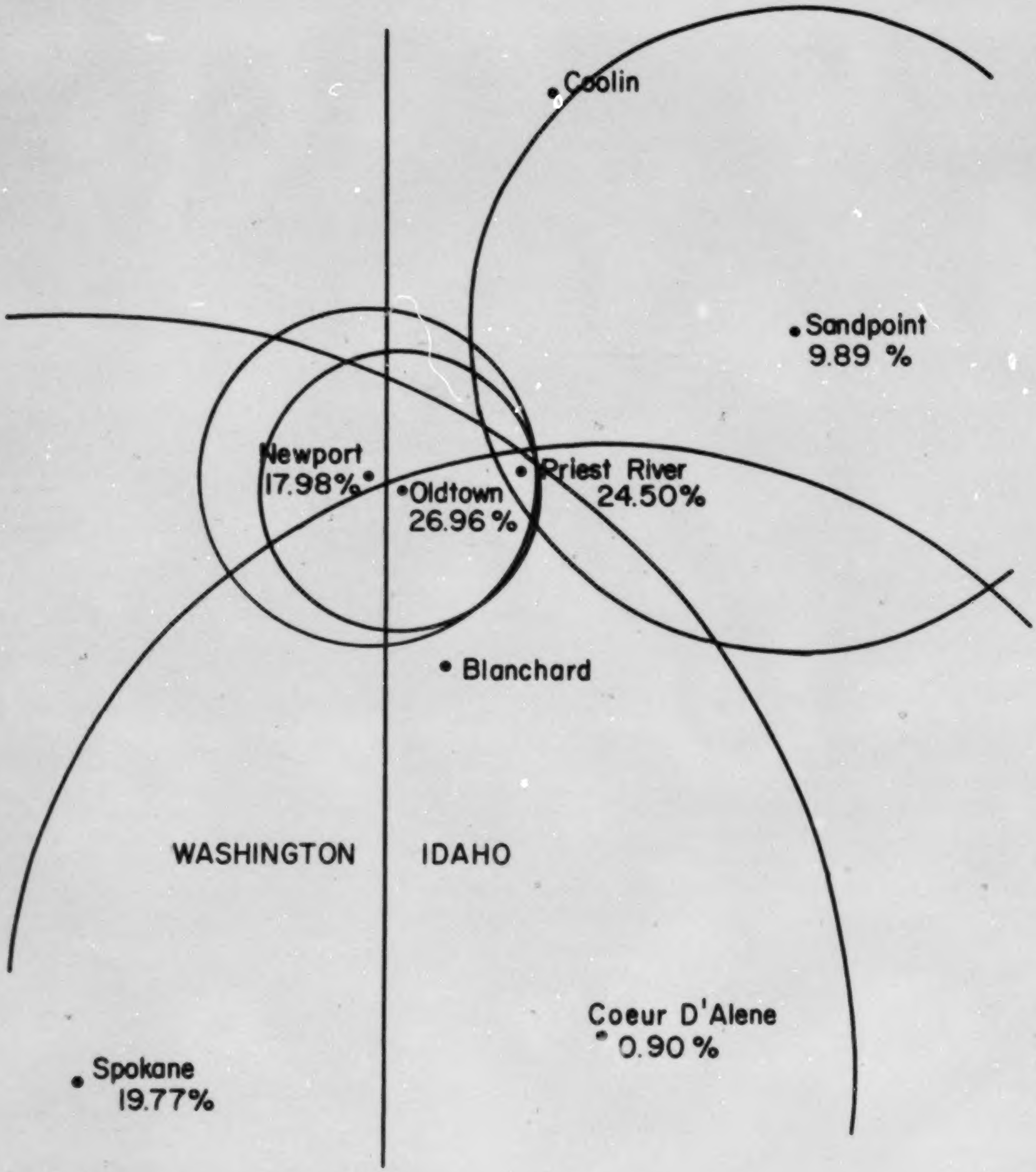
One should look at the sets of towns with which each of the towns have some shopping interaction — in a sense, looking at the market area concept from the buyer's rather than the seller's point of view. This information gives us some idea of how far people are willing to travel for shopping, and some idea of the greater economic area of which the town is a part. Exhibit 5.17 is a map showing, for each of the survey towns, which other towns are listed as important shopping destinations. The three southern Idaho towns along with Riggins showed very large areas of interaction, while Cottonwood and Priest River interactions covered a much smaller geographic area. The mobility for the southern towns could perhaps be a product of the better road system across the southern part of the state. The mobility of Riggins' residents is a product of necessity — nothing is closer. Neither Cottonwood nor Priest River have freeway quality roads nearby, and both have a fairly short drive to a nearby city — Priest River to Spokane and Cottonwood to Lewiston.

Chapter III examined the relationship between community size and the range of goods and services a community can support. One should examine the responses to questions 2 and 7 for further evidence on this relation. One can calculate the aggregate percentage purchased at home by residents of all six survey towns. The percent ranges from a high of 66.8% for gas and oil, to a low of 19.3% for autos; that is, over two-thirds of the gas and oil used in these six towns was purchased locally, while only one-fifth of the autos were bought locally. These aggregate percentages for all six towns, along with the individual percentages for each town appear in Exhibit 5.18.

The hypothesis motivating the analysis of chapter III was that goods and services have a hierarchy. A town of given size should have all of the higher order goods and services in that hierarchy, and none of the lower order goods and services. The cut-off point in the hierarchy was hypothesized to depend on, among other things, the size of the town. The responses to questions 2 and 7 can be used to show a similar sort of hierarchy. In Exhibit 5.19 the list of goods and services is reordered according to the six town aggregate figures. Goods and services often purchased locally come first on the list, and items more often purchased elsewhere appear at the bottom of the list.

Exhibit 5.15

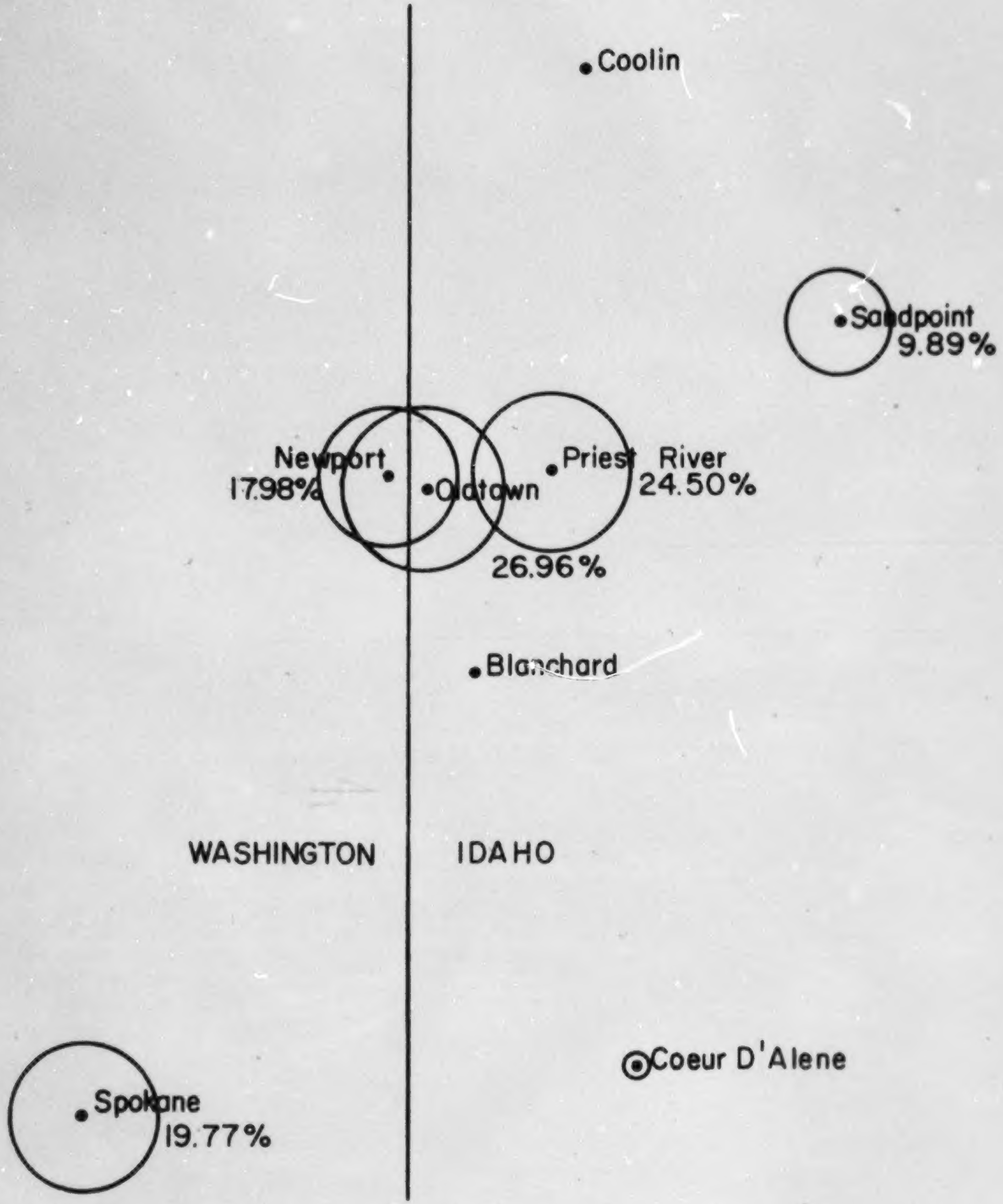
A First Approximation to Grocery Market Areas for Towns Near Priest River*


Coolin
Sandpoint
9.89 %
Newport
17.98%
Oldtown
26.96%
Priest River
24.50%
Blanchard
WASHINGTON
IDAHO
Coeur D'Alene
0.90 %
Spokane
19.77%

*Market area boundaries are drawn as circles centered on grocery destination town, but including Priest River within circle.

Exhibit 5.16

Estimated Grocery Purchases in Nearby Towns by Priest River Area Residents *


Coolin
Sandpoint
9.89%
Newport
17.98%
Oldtown
Priest River
24.50%
26.96%
Blanchard
WASHINGTON
IDAHO
Coeur D'Alene
Spokane
19.77%

*Area of circle is proportional to town's percent of total grocery purchases.

Exhibit 5.17

Towns Showing Some Market Interaction with Survey Towns

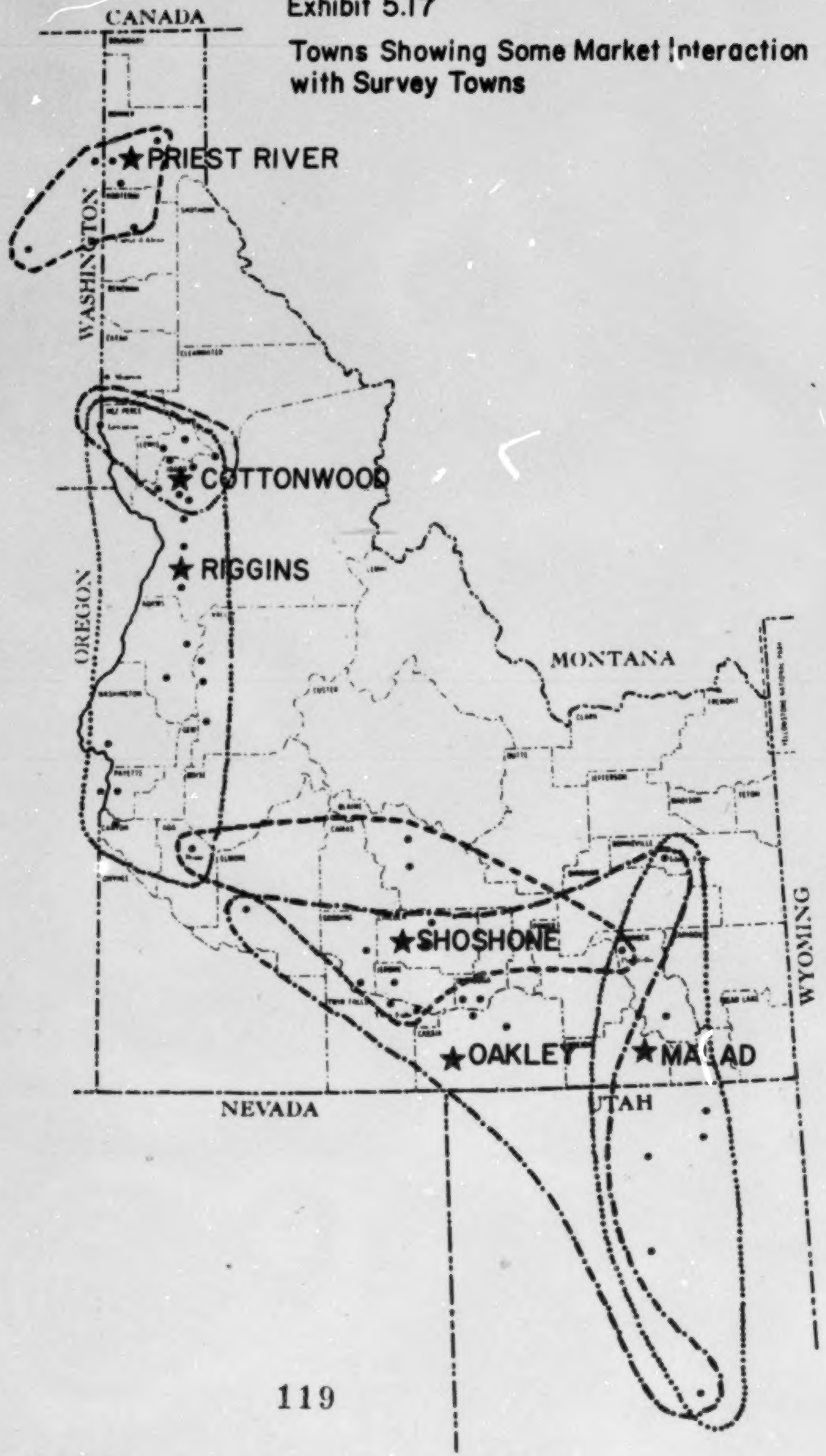

CANADA
PRIEST RIVER
WASHINGTON
COTTONWOOD
RIGGINS
OREGON
MONTANA
SHOSHONE
OAKLEY
MALAD
WYOMING
NEVADA
UTAH

Exhibit 5.18: Estimated Percent of Purchases of Selected Items Within Survey Towns - 1973

	Aggregate	Priest River	Riggins	Oakley	Malad	Shoshone	Cottonwood
Gas & Oil	66.8	42.8	56.8	46.0	82.3	80.5	72.3
Banking	63.6	65.2	61.6	5.3	85.8	78.5	78.3
Drugs	51.6	38.8	7.0	43.2	78.8	68.0	76.3
Insurance	46.8	41.6	9.8	8.3	77.5	75.0	72.8
Loans	46.8	47.2	34.4	5.8	77.0	61.6	68.8
Groceries	46.4	24.5	54.4	45.6	68.8	48.4	37.2
Auto Repair	46.0	29.3	28.8	46.8	78.0	51.6	30.4
Restaurants	39.6	22.0	42.4	30.4	67.2	43.2	32.4
Bldg. Supply	38.0	41.2	38.0	6.8	66.0	38.0	64.4
Doctor	32.0	7.3	13.5	5.5	64.8	70.5	54.4
Appliances	30.4	22.5	14.3	7.3	53.6	50.4	59.6
Dentist	27.5	38.8	7.0	5.0	44.0	65.6	16.0
Furniture	26.5	16.0	6.0	6.0	45.6	53.2	52.8
Recr. Equip.	25.3	25.5	19.3	11.0	61.6	23.3	27.0
Farm Equip.	23.8	33.2	6.5	28.8	44.0	13.8	25.8
Hospital	21.5	8.3	6.0	5.0	65.2	7.5	75.3
Apparel	19.8	13.3	19.5	10.5	44.0	18.5	20.0
Autos	19.3	18.0	6.8	6.5	69.2	15.3	16.5

The list is a hierarchy of some sort, but what kind of a hierarchy is it? Conceptually it is a sort of hybrid relationship — a blend between the either-or criterion of chapter III which determines whether the item will be available at all in a given town, and a human behavioral relation which determines how much will actually be bought in town versus at some more distant place. This blend of forces leads to some interesting relationships.

Chapter III found that grocery stores were among the most basic of all retail outlets, found in almost every village. Banks, on the other hand, were somewhat lower down the list. In the responses to questions 2 and 7, however, estimated local grocery purchases ranged from 24.5% for Priest River to 68.8% for Malad, and a six-town aggregate of 46.4%. Every small town has a grocery store, but that does not mean that everyone buys all their groceries there. Banking, supposedly a lower order service than groceries, drew stronger local loyalty. Business going to the local bank ranged from 61.6% at Riggins to 85.8% at Malad. Even counting in Oakley, with no local bank, the six-town aggregate was 63.6%. The apparent conclusion is that some goods and services require a larger threshold town size, but if conditions allow the item to be provided, most people will use the local outlets.

The actual ordered list in Exhibit 5.19 should be used carefully. The list is based, of course, on only six observations. The presence or absence of a good or service from a town is a fairly erratic event — the good hospital in Cottonwood, the lack of a bank in Oakley, and the drug store missing from Riggins. Replication of questions 2 and 7 for a larger number of towns spanning a wider range of town size will be necessary before a more accurate picture of the local purchasing propensity can be deduced.

The Business Questionnaire

In addition to the consumer questionnaire, another questionnaire was sent to each of the businesses in the six survey towns. The purpose of this questionnaire was really not analytic, but rather to help the researchers themselves get a better feel for business conditions and businessmen's attitudes in the selected towns. However, some of the results of this survey are interesting enough to include in this report.

A copy of the business questionnaire is included in the appendix. The survey was conducted by mail, using addresses obtained from telephone book listings and other sources. The use of followup letters pushed the response rate up to about 75% for each of the towns.

Perhaps the most informative results of the survey were the narratives and open-ended responses which are reproduced in the appendix. These responses communicate the business climate of these small Idaho towns. Because these narrative responses contain the essence of the business survey results, only a few of the questions from the survey will be discussed in much detail.

(Question 2)

This question asked how long the respondent had been in business in the given locality. The response, shown in Exhibit 5.20, verify our suspicions that many of the businesses had been around for some time. For the entire sample nearly two-thirds of the respondents had been in business for more than 10 years, and well over half of these had actually been around for over 20 years. Riggins was the only exception to this pattern, a consequence, one supposes, of the much greater age of the other towns, compared to Riggins which did much of its growing in the 1940's and 1950's. The greatest proportion of long-established businesses were found in the smallest survey town — Oakley. We conclude very easily that small rural towns with stable or shrinking populations are certainly not attracting new entries into their business community.

(Questions 5 and 7)

Questions 5 and 7 probed into the respondent's attitudes about the future of his town and his business. The responses are shown in Exhibits 5.21 and 5.22. The responses are, on the average, extremely optimistic. Over 60% of the respondents from these six stable or declining population towns were looking for "growth" or even "continued growth" for their town in the future. The strongest exception to this pattern was the one town which had actually experienced slight growth between 1960 and 1970, Oakley, for which only 25% foresaw growth in the future. If Oakley did, in fact, grow in this period, many residents saw this as only a pause in a long-term trend. The pessimism of Shoshone and Cottonwood due to uncertainties in their local situation also shows clearly in these responses.

The responses dealing with prospects of the given business were even more optimistic. Over 70% of the respondents who indicated a future direction of their business expected growth or continued growth. Here the established business community of Oakley registered the strongest optimism, and the towns of Shoshone and Cottonwood were most worried. Many respondents to this question indicated a desire to retire or to sell out, hardly an indication of booming business conditions. These responses were not included in the above percentages.

The apparent degree of optimism among the local businessmen is at first rather startling in light of the actual conditions in these towns. However, a recent study by Barkley and Buteau found a similar bias in the responses of small town businessmen to survey questions:

> "The settled, mainline, and relatively successful group gives the impression of being involved in a continual exercise of self-affirmation. Part of the exercise requires that no complaints ever be lodged against the business itself, the other businesses in town or the business climate in the general area. One businessman openly admitted that a happy and self-affirming attitude is best for business even when conditions are bad. Customers apparently do not like to patronize a merchant who will openly suggest that he needs the patronage! Frequent responses to questions about business climate included 'never been better', 'improving all the time' and 'if the government would leave us alone, business would be better'. Many businessmen reported business to be better than ever and growing. Careful inquiry left the impression that some of these responses were based on gross sales

Exhibit 5.19

Estimated Percent of Purchases of Selected Items Made Locally, 1973

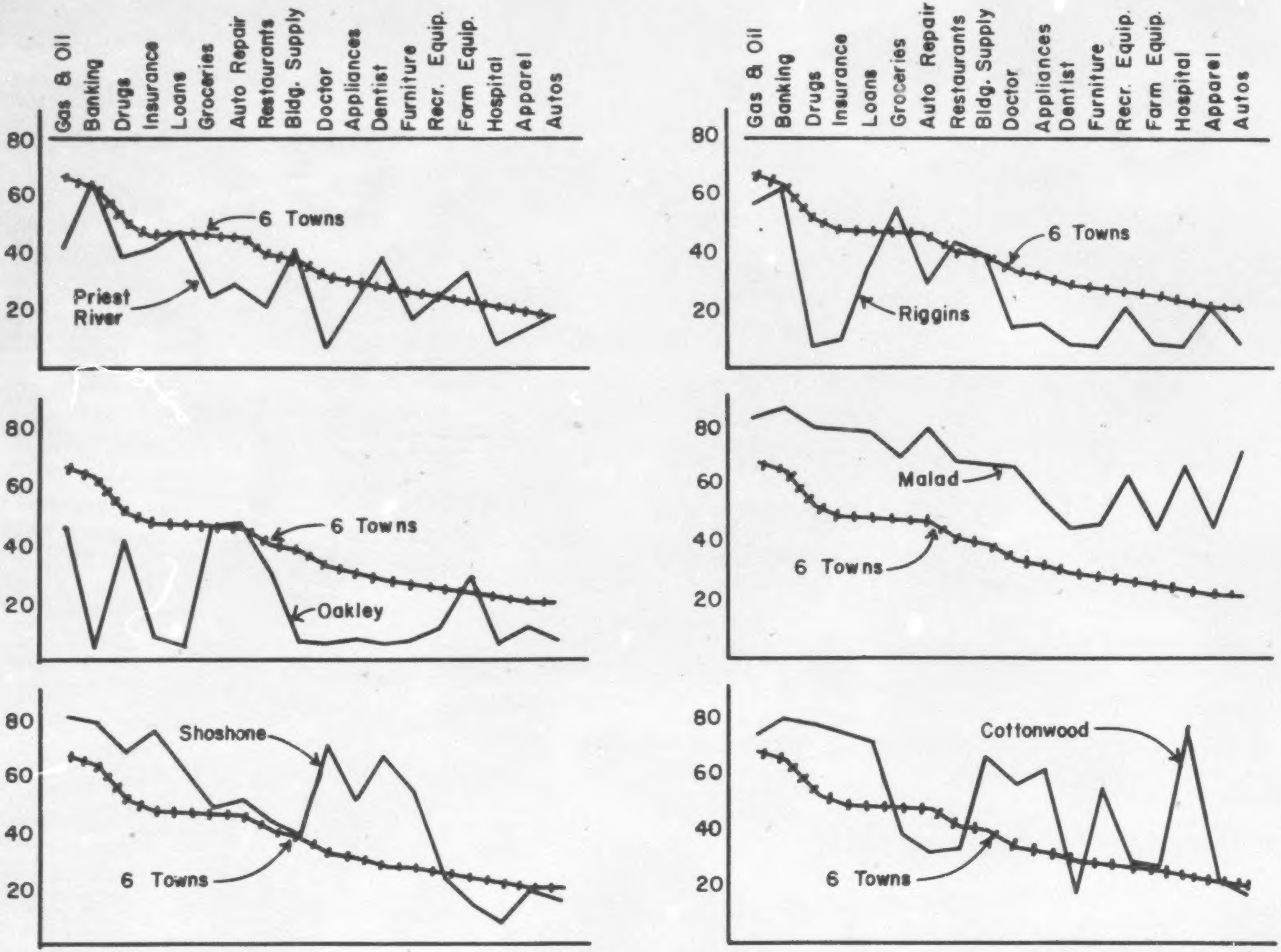


Exhibit 5.20: Number of Years that Respondent Businesses Had Been Present in Community

	Priest River	Riggins	Oakley	Malad	Shoshone	Cottonwood	Aggregate
years	percentage of respondents to question						
0-4	16.2	36.8	16.7	19.6	20.5	5.7	17.6
5-9	24.3	26.3	0.0	8.7	10.3	17.1	16.9
10-19	27.0	21.1	33.3	17.4	30.8	28.6	28.2
20+	32.4	15.8	50.0	54.3	38.5	48.6	37.3

Exhibit 5.21: Respondent Businessmen's Expectations About Future Growth or Decline of Community

	Priest River	Riggins	Oakley	Malad	Shoshone	Cottonwood	Aggregate
	percentage of respondents to question						
Stability or Decline	19.4	33.3	75.0	17.0	59.5	45.7	37.5
Growth	80.6	66.7	25.0	83.0	40.5	54.3	62.5

Exhibit 5.22: Respondent Businessmen's Expectations About Future Growth or Decline of Their Businesses

	Priest River	Riggins	Oakley	Malad	Shoshone	Cottonwood	Aggregate
	percentage of respondents to question						
Stability or Decline	16.1	26.7	9.1	20.5	32.3	41.4	28.6
Growth	83.9	73.3	90.9	79.5	67.7	58.6	71.4

volume and could be merely an illusion caused by inflationary pressure" (2, pp. 13).

If Barkley's allegations are correct, and they are certainly not contradicted by this study, then the businessmen's responses concerning the prospects for the future must be severely discounted.

(Question 11)

This question attempted to probe one of the underlying hypotheses of this study — that many small town businesses survive simply by the force of personality of the owner. Our assumption was that the owner of such a business is trapped. He cannot sell out or retire because his chief asset, his personality, is not transferrable to any new owner. The survey responses tended to downplay this effect. Most respondents thought that their clientele would be readily retrained by any new owner. We are suspicious, however, that this is just another manifestation of Barkley's point — that businessmen's survey responses tend more toward optimism than justified by reality.

Some Observations on the Questionnaires

This bias toward optimism is probably the most important lesson from the business questionnaire. It has important implications for any researcher attempting to deal with local business conditions. It means that any assessment of business patterns and prospects needs to be made using objective measures of business activity — and not by relying directly on the expressed attitudes and opinions of the people involved. Similar kinds of bias probably exist for the responses to the consumer questionnaire, although the directions are a bit harder to predict.

What we have found in our more detailed look at six specific Idaho towns has in general agreed with the implications of the earlier theoretical and macro-empirical chapters. The conceptual bases we have used thus appear reasonably adequate for explaining small town growth and decline.

Chapter VI

Summary and A Look at the Future

Recent years have been hard on small towns in most parts of the country. The changes which these towns have undergone have been painful, irrespective of whether the change has involved growth or decline.

A Summary: Technology and Small Towns

Both small farms and small towns have been institutions under pressure in recent years. There are some parallels between the situation for small farms and for small towns in a rural area. In the case of small farms, one of the arguments is that they have been bypassed by technological change. The instruments of that new technology — the big machinery, the new varieties, and the new marketing techniques — are not, so the argument goes, adapted to the realities of a small scale farm. Placed at such an economic disadvantage, small farms tend to disappear and be swallowed up by their larger neighbors. The small farmers who can hang on do so by enduring financial hardship motivated partly by a lack of other opportunities, and partly by a dedication to the small farm way of life.

Similarly, changing technologies have been central to the problems of many rural small towns. The techniques for provision of goods and services to community residents have changed over the years. This technological change was generally in response to economic pressures in urban America and as a consequence often fits poorly in rural small towns. The high volume supermarket, the discount department store, the concept of medical group practice, and the schools with diverse curricular offerings fit well into an urban setting but are infeasible in most small towns. So the small town resident who chooses to hang on does so by enduring some inconvenience, some doing without, and some financial hardship motivated partly by a lack of other opportunities and partly by a dedication to the small town lifestyle.

We have noted other ways that technology affects small towns. Transportation improvements have allowed residents of a small town-based community to have better access to the goods and services of nearby larger towns. Some would maintain that this breakdown in commercial loyalty to the local community has also led to a breakdown in the local social community, and thus to a decline in community spirit.

Technology has also changed in the hinterland. Agriculture, along with forestry and mining, has adopted labor-saving practices. The elimination of jobs in the countryside has reduced the role of some small towns in line with the reduced population to be served.

The factors, however, are not all negative. Selected small towns in Idaho are thriving. Growth may be based on recreation expansion, on agricultural growth in newly opened areas, on potential for mineral exploitation, or simply on proximity to growing urban areas.

Two major points have been made in this paper: (1) costs of providing public services can be related to population changes, and (2) local access to commercial goods and services is also closely related to population. The evidence on public services seems to support the contention that small communities suffer from significant diseconomies of small scale, and that outmigration imposes an additional burden of increased cost on those people who remain.

For commercial goods and services, the study has examined the hierarchical sequence by which some goods are available in even the smallest towns, while other goods or services require the support of a larger population. A larger population is required to support selected types of businesses now than was required a decade ago. The consequences of this shift have been traumatic for the many Idaho towns that have stable or declining populations.

Small Towns : What Future?

The last several years have certainly not enhanced the reputation of the economist as an accurate crystal ball gazer. Hence, we will resist the temptation to make actual predictions about the future of Idaho small towns. We will enumerate some of the factors, many of them very uncertain, which will impact on these rural small town futures.

1. The economic forces which act on small towns in the future will be the same kind of economic forces which have acted in the past — the kinds of economic forces we have attempted to document in this report. If small towns continue to have outmigration, this will involve costs. If a town continues to be small, it will suffer from diseconomies of small scale. If the technology of providing goods and services continues in its present direction, then small town businesses will continue to be hurt. If labor-saving technology continues in the hinterland economy, then population declines will impact the town. If town and hinterland population being served by a town diminishes, then the range of businesses found in that town will tend to fall also. And, if travel ease continues to improve, local residents will increasingly forsake local businesses in favor of the lower costs and better selections in larger towns.

2. Ease of travel is, however, an interesting case. Most of us assumed until recently that travel would continue to get easier. Now the "energy crisis" has sown seeds of doubt. The skyrocketing cost of fuel and even the cost of autos have significantly raised the cost of travel. The degree to which this is permanent and the effect this will have on consumer's travel propensity are open to question. Perhaps the energy shortage might be a positive stimulus for small town health.

3. Almost any small town can be considered a special case, the product of a unique history and set of circumstances. These special and unique factors mean that no general model is likely to do a good job of predicting town growth or decline. Two emerging kinds of special forces merit close attention — recreation and mineral exploitation. Both are related to the chance presence of unique resource endowments. Many Idaho towns have become highly dependent on a recreation economy. Outdoor recreation is certainly on an uptrend as Americans become more affluent and more mobile. How far this uptrend in recreation use can be projected is an open question in these days of a weak national economy and energy supply fears. Some ski areas began to feel the impact of these problems in the winter of 1974-1975. Probably the safest guess is that recreation will for some time continue to be an expanding base on which small town economies can be built.

Mineral exploitation is causing considerable excitement in parts of the state. Of course, minerals have been intimately tied with the historical development of Idaho. Minerals have provided a continuing base of support for towns such as those in the Coeur d'Alene mining district and the phosphate mining area in the south east part of the state. The phosphate deposits are the basis of the current excitement, with many people seeing great impact for the entire southeast Idaho region. Small towns in the region would no doubt share in the impact although the exact nature of what will happen is open to question.

Even the prospective oil shale development in Wyoming and Utah could have a profound effect on Idaho small towns, especially if these developments were to look to the Snake River Basin for their water needs.

4. Population estimates emerging from the Census Bureau over the past several years provide food for thought. These figures document a turnaround in historic migration flow patterns (3,4). While the flow has in the past moved from rural to urban areas, the last few years have witnessed a reversal. For years Idaho has had a net outmigration of people — but there has been substantial inmigration in the years since 1970. Although much of this inmovement appears to be directed into the larger towns of the Boise Valley, exodus from smaller towns also is slowing. No one knows if this reverse flow migration is a permanent phenomenon or a short run aberration. To the extent that the flow is tied to affluence and mobility, the future may be related to the national economy and to fuel availability problems.

These factors are just a few of the things that will determine the futures of small towns and their residents. As we have said, every small town is a special case — with a unique group of residents and potential residents who have much to say about the direction of their communities. Hopefully, some of the points raised in this report can help these people better understand and plan their futures.

Appendix A

Copy of Consumer Questionnaire

COOPERATIVE EXTENSION SERVICE
University of Idaho
College of Agriculture
In Cooperation with the
U.S. Department of Agriculture
Moscow, Idaho 83843

Dear Resident:

The enclosed material is a questionnaire for the Small Towns Assistance Project being conducted by the Idaho Cooperative Extension Service. I urge you to complete the questionnaire carefully regardless of your place of residence or contact with the community in question and return it in the self-addressed envelope.

Sincerely

Richard W. Schermerhorn

Richard W. Schermerhorn
Extension Economist and
Principal Investigator
Small Towns Assistance Project

RWS/ljp

Enclosure

The University of Idaho is an Equal Opportunity/Affirmative Action Employer.

AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION SERVICE
COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE
UNIVERSITY OF IDAHO

Phone 983-0140
Room 3, Courthouse
Grangeville, Idaho 83530

Dear Idaho County Resident:

The University of Idaho Department of Agricultural Economics and the Idaho County Agent's Office (University of Idaho Cooperative Extension Service) are cooperating on a study of two (2) Idaho County Communities. Other villages, towns and/or communities in Idaho will also be involved.

The enclosed material which is self explanatory needs your immediate attention. I hope you will find time from your busy schedule to complete and mail the requested information.

You need not sign or identify yourself unless you desire to do so.

Thanking you in advance for your excellent cooperation, I remain

Very truly yours,

Edward F. Mink

Edward F. Mink
Extension Agricultural Agent

EFM:sv

Enclosures

University of Idaho
College of Agriculture
Department of
Agricultural Economics
Richard W. Schermerhorn, Head
Moscow, Idaho/83843
Phone (208) 885-6262

Dear Resident:

The University of Idaho's Department of Agricultural Economics and Cooperative Extension Service have undertaken a study of small Idaho towns. Six communities have been selected as sample communities for the purpose of attempting to identify characteristics unique to small towns and determine why these characteristics are unique. We intend to conduct an extensive survey of local businessmen in these six communities and in addition we need your help.

Your address was randomly selected to receive the enclosed questionnaire. This questionnaire, a vitally important part of the entire project, is designed to give us some indication of the local consumers' attitudes concerning a nearby small town. We ask you to conscientiously complete this questionnaire at your earliest convenience and return it in the enclosed self-addressed envelope (no postage required).

As for instructions, the majority of the answers can be indicated by circling an appropriate number. We ask that you indicate your first impressions and that responses to the few questions requiring a written statement be as short and to the point as possible. Do not place your signature on any portion of the questionnaire. The number on the return envelope is not there to divulge your identity but rather it exists for the purposes of knowing which addresses have returned the questionnaire. If the number still prevents you from completing the questionnaire, we suggest you block it out by any means you choose, but do expect to receive additional letters concerning the status of the questionnaire in your possession.

We thank you for your cooperation in assisting us with this project. The results of this study will be only as complete and reliable as are the questionnaires conscientiously completed and returned.

Sincerely,

Joel R Hamilton

Joel R. Hamilton
Assistant Professor
Project Economist
Small Towns Assistance Project

JRH/jde
Enclosure

The University of Idaho is an Equal Opportunity/Affirmative Action Employer

Small Towns Assistance Project - Consumer Questionnaire U of I Cooperative Extension Service

1. Please answer the following questions by placing a circle around the number which most closely expresses your feelings about the following statements. Some of the statements are designed to show your attitudes about Riggins even though you may or may not live at that town.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Dis-Agree	Strongly Disagree
a. Local leaders are doing a good job of running Riggins	1	2	3	4	5
b. People in Riggins are working hard to improve the town	1	2	3	4	5
c. Adequate medical care is available in or near Riggins	1	2	3	4	5
d. Decent jobs are almost impossible to find in or near Riggins	1	2	3	4	5
e. Recreation and entertainment opportunities are good in Riggins	1	2	3	4	5
f. It is difficult to get people in Riggins to agree on anything	1	2	3	4	5
g. People in Riggins must get by without adequate shopping areas	1	2	3	4	5
h. Small-town and rural people have a better outlook on life	1	2	3	4	5
i. For what one gets — it costs too much to live in Riggins	1	2	3	4	5
j. Public education in Riggins is better than average	1	2	3	4	5
k. Development of recreation related businesses would make Riggins grow	1	2	3	4	5
l. I am seeking employment in another area and plan to move soon	1	2	3	4	5
m. A few influential people make all the community decisions in Riggins	1	2	3	4	5
n. It is difficult to get appliances or cars repaired in Riggins	1	2	3	4	5
o. It is much cheaper to live in small towns than in large cities	1	2	3	4	5
p. Local attitudes tend to delay needed changes in Riggins	1	2	3	4	5
q. Opportunities in Riggins encourage young people to make homes there	1	2	3	4	5
r. Riggins should encourage new business and industry	1	2	3	4	5
s. If a lot of outsiders move in, Riggins will be a worse place to live	1	2	3	4	5
t. Riggins is a healthy, growing community	1	2	3	4	5
u. I now drive elsewhere to buy things which I once would have bought in Riggins	1	2	3	4	5
v. I would have to earn a lot more money before I would move to another town	1	2	3	4	5

2. Compared with five years ago, are a larger or smaller proportion of your purchases of the following items made in Riggins? (If you moved into the community within the last five years, skip this question.)

	Greater % of purchases now made in Riggins	No Change	Smaller % of purchases now made in Riggins	If you marked greater or smaller please indicate what caused the change
Groceries	1	2	3	
Clothing, Shoes	1	2	3	
Furniture	1	2	3	
Household appliances	1	2	3	
Hardware, Lumber	1	2	3	
Dental work	1	2	3	
Hospital or clinic	1	2	3	
Doctor	1	2	3	
Drugs	1	2	3	
Farm Equipment	1	2	3	
Automobiles	1	2	3	
Auto repair	1	2	3	
Gas and oil	1	2	3	
Banking services	1	2	3	
Insurance	1	2	3	
Loan services	1	2	3	
Recreational equipment	1	2	3	
Restaurant meals	1	2	3	

3. What is your relationship to the rest of the household?

1. Husband
2. Wife
3. Other (Please Describe: ____________________).

4. What were the occupations of household members who earned income last year. In addition, please describe in one short sentence what types of work were involved for each and the location of the employment by giving the nearest town or community name.

	Occupation	Type of Work	Location
Husband			
Wife			
Other a.)			
b.)			

5. Answer the following by placing a circle around the number which most closely corresponds to your feelings about the statements.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Dis-Agree	Strongly Disagree
a. Riggins is getting above average returns for its tax dollar	1	2	3	4	5
b. People in Riggins dislike things that threaten the status quo	1	2	3	4	5
c. Riggins would be better if it had concerts, plays and art shows	1	2	3	4	5
d. Riggins is too inconvenient to make it my permanent home	1	2	3	4	5
e. Most people in Riggins are willing to help others in time of need	1	2	3	4	5
f. Riggins is a very good place for raising children	1	2	3	4	5
g. The police and fire protection in Riggins is adequate	1	2	3	4	5
h. My present job makes adequate use of my skills, training, and education	1	2	3	4	5
i. Riggins is a pretty boring place to live	1	2	3	4	5
j. I have plans to move from this community in the foreseeable future	1	2	3	4	5
k. Adequate credit at reasonable interest is available in Riggins	1	2	3	4	5
l. Riggins schools prepare children well for jobs they are likely to get	1	2	3	4	5
m. I want my children to get jobs and settle in this community	1	2	3	4	5

6. Please indicate last years household income by circling the appropriate categories.

	Husband's Earnings	Wife's Earnings	Other Income
None	1	1	1
1 - 999	2	2	2
1,000 - 1,999	3	3	3
2,000 - 2,999	4	4	4
3,000 - 3,999	5	5	5
4,000 - 4,999	6	6	6
5,000 - 5,999	7	7	7
6,000 - 7,999	8	8	8
8,000 - 9,999	9	9	9
10,000 - 11,999	10	10	10
12,000 - 14,999	11	11	11
15,000 - 19,999	12	12	12
20,000 - 29,999	13	13	13
30,000 or more	14	14	14

7. For the goods and services listed below, please indicate about what portion of your household purchases over the past several years were made in Riggins. For things you often buy in another town, list the most important town, and the portion of your purchases made in that town.

	In Riggins					In Another Town		
	Little or None (under 10%)	Some (10 to) (50%)	Most (50 to) (90%)	All (90% or) (more)	Name of town where you get this	Some (10 to) (50%)	Most (50 to) (90%)	All (90% or) (more)
Groceries	0	1	2	3	________	1	2	3
Clothing, Shoes	0	1	2	3	________	1	2	3
Furniture	0	1	2	3	________	1	2	3
Household appliances	0	1	2	3	________	1	2	3
Hardware, Lumber	0	1	2	3	________	1	2	3
Dental work	0	1	2	3	________	1	2	3
Doctor	0	1	2	3	________	1	2	3
Hospital or clinic	0	1	2	3	________	1	2	3
Drugs	0	1	2	3	________	1	2	3
Farm Equipment	0	1	2	3	________	1	2	3
Automobiles	0	1	2	3	________	1	2	3
Auto repair	0	1	2	3	________	1	2	3
Gas and oil	0	1	2	3	________	1	2	3
Banking services	0	1	2	3	________	1	2	3
Insurance	0	1	2	3	________	1	2	3
Loan service	0	1	2	3	________	1	2	3
Recreational equipment	0	1	2	3	________	1	2	3
Restaurant meals	0	1	2	3	________	1	2	3

8. List some changes that would make Riggins a better place to live. Include any new stores or businesses which you think the town should have. Also mention any community services which should be changed or improved.

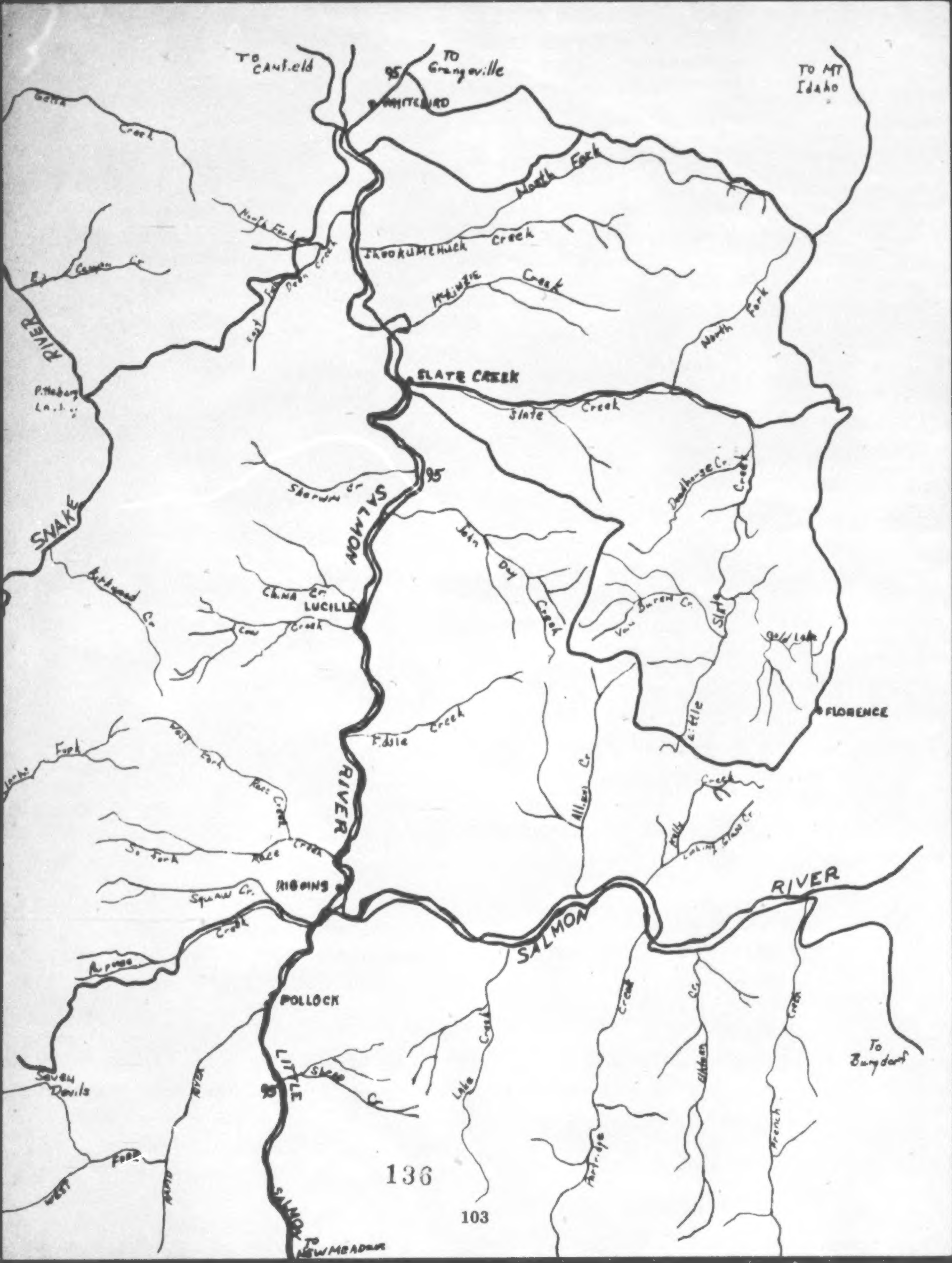
a. ______________________________

b. ______________________________

c. ______________________________

d. ______________________________

9. On the following page a map of Idaho County and the surrounding country has been reproduced. On this map place a visible mark indicating the general location of your residence.


TO CAMFIELD
95
TO Grangeville
WHITEBIRD
TO MT Idaho
Getta Creek
North Fork
Eg Canyon Cr
Deer Creek
East Fork
Shookumchuck Creek
McKinzie Creek
North Fork
North Fork
RIVER
P. Hoberg Land
SLATE CREEK
Slate Creek
95
Sherwin Cr
SALMON
SNAKE
Deadhorse Cr.
Creek
John Day Creek
China Cr.
LUCILE
Kirkwood Cr.
Cow Creek
Van Buren Cr.
Slate
Gold Lake
Little
FLORENCE
Fiddle Creek
West Fork
Race Creek
Fork
RIVER
Allison Cr.
Creek
Crooked Cr.
Lower Lake Cr.
So Fork Race Creek
RIGGINS
Squaw Cr.
RIVER
SALMON
Creek
Papoose
POLLOCK
Lake Creek
Creek
Cr.
Creek
To Burgdorf
Seven Devils
RIVER
95
LITTLE
Sheep Cr.
Elkhorn
Partridge
French
Fork
WEST
RAPID
SALMON
TO NEW MEADOWS

Appendix B

Copy of Business Questionnaire

COOPERATIVE EXTENSION SERVICE
University of Idaho
College of Agriculture
In Cooperation with the
U.S. Department of Agriculture
Moscow, Idaho 83843

Dear Businessman:

The enclosed material is a questionnaire for the Small Towns Assistance Project being conducted by the Idaho Cooperative Extension Service. I urge you to complete the questionnaire carefully and return it in the self-addressed envelope.

Sincerely,

Richard W Schermerhorn

Richard W. Schermerhorn
Extension Economist and
Principal Investigator
Small Towns Assistance Project

RWS/ljp

Enclosure

The University of Idaho is an Equal Opportunity/Affirmative Action Employer

University of Idaho
College of Agriculture
Department of
Agricultural Economics
Richard W. Schermerhorn, Head
Moscow, Idaho/83843
Phone (208) 885-6262

Dear Sir:

The enclosed questionnaire is part of a joint project between the University of Idaho's Department of Agricultural Economics and Cooperative Extension Service. The purpose of this project is to identify unique characteristics existing in small Idaho towns. Cottonwood has been selected as one of several representative communities throughout Idaho in which extensive surveys will be conducted of the local businessmen's attitudes and opinions about their towns.

We are asking each businessman to complete the enclosed questionnaire at his earliest convenience. Also, we wish to stress that the answers provided and the identity of the individuals completing the enclosed form will be confidential. The number on the enclosed return envelope is solely for the purpose of knowing which businesses have returned the questionnaire. If this number still prevents you from completing the questionnaire, we suggest you block it out by any means you choose; but you should expect to receive additional letters concerning the status of the questionnaire in your possession. In addition to this questionnaire, you may have been selected to receive a questionnaire on consumer attitudes and opinions. If you receive both, we ask you to complete both of them.

We thank you for your cooperation in assisting us with this project. The results of this study will be only as complete and reliable as are the questionnaires conscientiously completed and returned.

Sincerely,

Joel R Hamilton

Joel R. Hamilton
Assistant Professor
Project Economist
Small Towns Assistance Project

JRH/1jp

Enclosure

Small Towns Assistance Project - Businessmen Questionnaire
U of I Cooperative Extension Service

1. What services does your business establishment provide? (please circle the relevant ones from the following list.)

   A. Groceries
   B. Doctor
   C. Gas & oil
   D. Clothing, shoes
   E. Hospital or clinic
   F. Banking services
   G. Furniture
   H. Drugs
   I. Insurance
   J. Household appliances
   K. Farm equipment
   L. Loan service
   M. Hardware, lumber
   N. Automobiles
   O. Recreational equip.
   P. Dental work
   Q. Auto repair
   R. Restaurant

   S. Other ______

2. How long have you been in this or a similar line of business in the general area?

   ______

3. What is the extent (in miles or by community reference) of the area from which your customers regularly come? ______

4. Are you an active member of a local civic or service organization? ______

5. From your experience, what do you expect Cottonwood to do in the future?

   Grow ______ Stabilize ______ Decline ______

6. Do you own, lease, or are currently buying the facilities for your business operation? ______

7. What outlook and prospects do you see for the future of your business in this community? (i.e., loss of service, planning on selling, continued growth, etc.)

   ______

8. Have you, or the owner if you lease, recently invested in improvements to your business premises? ______

9. If the answer to #8 is yes, what was the primary reason for doing so?

   A. Expansion of business
   B. Hopes of increasing clientele draw
   C. Business district improvement and beautification project
   D. Necessity
   E. Other: please specify ______

10. If #8 was answered no, what changes in the general business and community attitude of the local area would be an indicator that would lend you or the owner to consider remodeling or construction plans? ______

    ______

11. If you sold your business to someone from outside the local community, would you foresee any change in the clientele draw of the business? ____________________

12. Assume you are trying to sell your business and the best offer is received from someone outside the local community, if you could predetermine that the community would suffer from the transaction through curtailment or complete elimination of services provided by your business, would you sell to him? ____________________

13. Has business changed over the past five years for your establishment? __________

If answered yes, has it decreased or increased and what possible reasons can you give for the change? ____

____

14. Is your business outlet located in the same structure as your place of residence? ______________

15. On the basis of a forty hour work week, what is the number of full time employees working for you including yourself? (If two persons each working twenty hours a week are employed, the number of full time employees equals one.) __________

16. What service(s) or business(es) would you most like to see added to or removed from the business community that would, in your opinion, improve the overall business atmosphere available to consumers patronizing businesses of this community?

Additional Comments

(We welcome any additional comments concerning the topics relevant to this questionnaire that you believe we have not covered or that you want to elaborate upon further.)

Appendix C

Open Ended Responses to Questionnaires

The following statements were written by respondents to the questionnaires for the Small Towns Assistance project. The statements were edited only to the extent necessary to avoid reference to particular respondents and to keep the language presentable. These responses were collected during the winter of 1973-74 so some comments may now be outdated.

These are comments of the local people. Neither the researchers nor the Extension Service necessarily endorse these statements.

Priest River - Consumer Questionnaire

— clerks in stores should be more friendly.
— need better library.
— need industry for more jobs.
— need better doctors, good medical facilities.
— need better streets, sidewalks, bicycle trails.
— have people paint and fix up houses, lawns.
— need better water service!!!
— destroy old buildings.
— need a good clothing store.
— Priest River has more shopping places than any place close to us. Newport, Wash., has nothing. I like Priest River and enjoy shopping there.
— need place for the young folks to go.
— need a good doctor.
— need industry other than wood and mills.
— need place to go other than bars.
— Priest River has poorest streets anywhere.
— need J.C. Penney store, Montgomery Wards store.
— Businesses should stock more parts.
— need store such as K Mart.
— need new stores of all types for competition.
— clean up main street.
— need less hippies and commodity free loaders.
— need better schools and educators.
— need better clothing store, bakery.
— need doctor.
— need slaughter house.
— There should be a doctor to rely on.
— need recreation for the 8-18-year-olds.
— need another supermarket for competition with present single one.
— improve streets and snow removal.
— need better shopping for food and clothing.
— need small business.
— need better water, streets, and fire department.
— need competition in grocery and clothing stores.
— clothing store needed.
— need fire protection outside of town.
— need any competitive business.
— need better medical service, doctor.
— need competitive grocery store.
— need supermarket, drug store, hardware store.
— need picnic area, civic activities.
— need general clean-up in business and residential areas.
— need doctor.
— need hardware store with more variety.
— need doctor, hospital, clinic service.
— need doctors and dentists.
— need manufacturing business.
— need better paying jobs.
— I have little contact with Priest River as I am more convenient to Sandpoint.
— need better cooperation among businessmen.
— do not live in Priest River so cannot answer your questions. About the only services I make use of is the banking which seems very efficient.
— We have little contact with Priest River.
— I live at the east end of the Interstate Bridge from Oldtown, which is about 6 miles from Priest River. I do my shopping in Oldtown and Newport. I am 84 years old and have practically no economic or social contact with Priest River which I view only as a rather active small lumbering town.
— need some type of recreation for kids - not controlled by grownups - this should be for all towns where there's nothing for kids to do.
— It seems to be a stagnant town with little to draw young couples into settlement. Some kind of new industry with good job attraction might induce young people to live there. We don't even like to drive through the town because of the dying feeling present there. It's a post-boom type of atmosphere.
— need industry of all kinds to provide payrolls for new people moving in then stores to provide needed commodities.
— airport needs improvement, also general face lifting for more desirable class of people.
— need larger selection clothing stores, warehouse market.
— need more doctors.
— need faster mail service.
— the town needs a shopping center.
— need sponsored youth activities away from downtown.

Priest River - Consumer Questionnaire (Cont.)

- need better school teachers.
- need a Chamber of Commerce interested in growth.
- need better water supply.
- We are in need of a doctor.
- need doctor.
- should limit people coming into community to live —too much subdivision.
- Priest River is dominated by large nearby towns.
- Possibly need a few more stores.
- need a clothing store with good quality merchandise.
- a good restaurant would be nice.
- need a movie theatre or other recreation business.
- need something to induce community spirit.
- a real opportunity to develop tourist trade.
- We feel strongly against government give-away community services, but wish the people had enough spirit to get together and improve the town.
- need more competition in grocery stores.
- need more competition in all businesses - now only one of each.
- need new industry.
- should provide tourist information service.
- need good clean restaurant, dry goods store, hardware store.
- cut out some of the bars and get better entertainment.
- We need a clothing store badly.
- would be nice to have a doctor in town.
- need a grocery store with average price and variety.
- need some recreation beside the 8 taverns we have.
- need a large clothing store, movie theatre, doctor.
- need doctor, clinic, hospital.
- need more stores — grocery.
- need more businesses to hold young people here.
- youth group needs help, encouragement, and parent cooperation.
- better special education program.
- more decent entertainment for all — especially teens.
- need emergency medical treatment.
- need reasonably priced plumbing and electrical repairs.
- need new people to run town and area.
- get new industries in community.
- get rid of, not encourage, the drugs.
- need a good eating place, a doctor.
- need more activities for teenagers, new industries.
- need some kind of medical service, a much better dry goods store, competitive grocery business, and recreation for all ages.
- need decent streets, old buildings torn down, a community center, a good clothing store, and a good restaurant.
- need indoor and outdoor movies, and a bowling alley.
- A doctor and clinic are needed.
- a community building for retired people, an apartment building suitable for elderly.
- need interesting activities for young people.
- need another large grocery store, clothing store.
- need another doctor in area.
- need a larger youth center or something more for kids to do.
- possibly another clothing store, fix up store fronts on main street.
- another doctor.
- has too many bars.
- need general house and yard cleaning, street repairs.
- need more civic pride and cooperation among residents.
- need more businesses that have year-round employees.
- need a nice clean and up to date restaurant.
- need a car wash for pickups.
- We live in Newport and have no connections with Priest River.
- need a better supported sports group.
- Why doesn't someone develop the Pend Oreille River at Priest River — summer boat storage and more active dock facilities?
- why not liquor on Sunday — residents now go across the State line to spend their money because of our present law on this.
- need better and more reasonably priced clothing store, restaurants, supermarket.
- improve high school.
- need a good doctor.
- need a good clothing store.
- I can't say what the trouble with Priest River really is. Maybe the merchants have a feeling of being super beings. Don't know of a remedy.
- need new stores for competition to create lower prices.
- The big trouble is lack of payrolls. Nothing here but timber industry and we can't all work there so we have to go where there is work. Give us some payrolls and we will be back.
- need doctors, medical facilities, community spirit, cafes.
- mainly need jobs.
- need more clothing, grocery stores.
- make better use of Pend Oreille Lake.
- lower local taxes.
- better children's activities.
- clean up town.
- need a small department store such as Penneys.
- need help for teenagers (please) — theatre — roller skating rink.
- need clothing store, doctors, competitive drug store, good restaurant.
- improve schools.
- need less beer parlors, leash law for dogs.
- need a good clean-up of the town such as all old run down houses and junk yards which are a disgrace to Priest River.
- need a good doctor, housing for senior citizens reasonable enough so they could afford to rent the apartments — We have a good clinic building if we could just get a doctor to come into our town.
- should have a doctor.
- need clothing store, doctor.
- need change of city government.
- end monopoly enjoyed by most businesses.
- need local theatre, local support for youth activities, more housing.
- need Wards or Sears catalog store, roller skating rink, drive-in movie.
- need doctor, combination dry goods-grocery store, Sears order store, welding and machine shop.
- need better streets, help on criminal investigation and vandalism.
- Since I live only 1¾ miles from Newport and 7

Priest River - Consumer Questionnaire (Cont.)

from Priest River it stands to reason I shop in Newport.

- need adequate medical care - trained first aid, rescue and/or resuscitation teams — able to go without waiting.
- a supermarket would help.
- more churches.
- a bowling alley or other indoor recreation would be nice.
- need supervised swimming area.
- need clothing store with competitive prices.
- need an industry to employ men and women.
- schools need modern education and skills available.
- need theatre, dance halls, youth center.
- need planned parenthood program, sex education.
- need community buildings, job opportunities and training, better city planning and development.
- need general face lift and clean-up of business area- this alone would encourage new business to come to Priest River and also would encourage people from other areas to stop.
- need more business and industry, a doctor, new and better stores, get rid of old ugly buildings.
- am not around enough to know.
- need doctor, pave more streets, better clothing store.
- need good doctor.
- Priest River is not open for suggestions.
- I was born, raised, and attended 12 years of school in the Priest River area. We expect to continue to maintain a residence there, and after our children have completed school in Spokane we expect to live in the Priest River - Sandpoint area full time.
- need better education, better medical and dental care.
- need discount store like K Mart, good sporting goods store.
- need teen and senior citizens recreation centers.
- need transportation (train service).
- We need a great deal of help in education.
- We could use more stores — new building would help.
- need medical facility, movie theatre.
- I have lived in this community for 25 years and have always traded in Sandpoint as it is my county seat. When I came Priest River did not have the businesses of Sandpoint.
- I think Priest River has adequate of all businesses but prices are a little higher than Sandpoint.
- We only vacation here 4 months out of the year. Priest River hasn't changed since we first came here in 1961.
- As usual Oldtown, one of the first ports on the Pend Oreille River has been overlooked as is Idaho Hill, its fast growing residential district. We are on the border at the interstate bridge. We have more commerce than many surrounding towns. Our stores employ more people. As to your questionnaire we cannot answer as we very seldom go to Priest River.

Priest River - Business Questionnaire

- The government is placing too many stumbling blocks in the road of private enterprise — therefore the days of a small business are on the way out.
- My business is down — items are being bought at cut rate and chain outlets.
- business down — fuel shortage.
- business up — new people moving to area — better prices for timber products.
- business benefits from people's desire to escape the urban "rat race".
- We have grown but only because of extreme effort — changes in major suppliers pricing programs and government paper work are making it extremely hard on small service oriented retailers — it appears that the government agencies do not realize that all mechanical equipment needs service and that most price sellers, who seem to be the largest retailers, seldom have facilities to service what they sell and still the Government feels that the consumer is better protected when the manufacturer is not allowed to protect his service outlets with price controls. If one looks around and thinks about it they would realize that the most vulnerable business is one that services what they sell as they must command a little larger price. But no product is any good if it is broken down and the consumer cannot get it repaired. Boat motors, cars, appliances, you name it; and isn't it a fact that service is getting harder to find?
- business up — elimination of inventory taxes enable us to carry a larger year round stock; more stock — more sales.
- thinking of selling but will continue to try to grow if we don't.
- not enough timber sales around our area. We need more timber sales and new industry.
- I plan on retiring and selling my business.
- It appears the business district will be moving to an area where there is more traffic. New building and more remodeling is being done in the area located on U.S. 2.
- business increased. I have cleaned the place up, partially remodeled and I think I'm managing it a little better.
- Without some sort of industry or source of income, I can see little chance for much growth.
- My business outlook is for continued growth with the hope of selling out. I can't think of any reason (for the growth) but that I am well known in the area and have been for a number of years and that I have been a mechanic for 22 years in this area.
- business up because of more people in the area.
- planning on selling out.
- sold this business last weekend — wanted to concentrate on the expansion of a restaurant located across the street; have sold to a native son.
- summer tourist traffic from all over U.S.
- Priest River should continue to grow due to the recreational and retirement trend. One very important factor for stability — the need for new industry — stable and year round for the generation of needed payroll.
- planning an expansion program.
- planning to sell.
- If business was so bad as to necessitate my selling out there would be no outstanding effect on the community. If I wanted to sell merely to make a profit on my investment, I probably would not concern myself with the future effect the transaction might have on the public because the new owner would be buying that problem with the business.

Riggins – Consumer Questionnaire

- more recreation — drug store is needed.
- remove the clique which runs the city.
- Riggins doesn't need a swimming pool during the summers. The river at Short's Bar is a very nice swimming hole; need a bowling alley and recreation hall.
- should make more land available so houses can be built or trailer homes moved in.
- The people of Riggins had fear put in them that if they didn't vote for a sewer the town would be closed down. After 4 tries the sewer bond went through. Over 1 year later there still is no sewer and no one has been closed down by the health department as the people were led to believe.
- keep Californians in their own state and out of city business. They have all the money and local people can't compete with them.
- need drug store, more recreation facilities, better medical services, more community involvement.
- Our family lives on a very self sufficient farm — our needs for commercial shopping are limited.
- The one thing that would help me is to lower property taxes.
- something for kids to do besides drag up and down the roads, drink beer, and neck.
- need auto store, drug store, and some place for recreation for young.
- I never completed your first questionnaire since at the time I was in Arizona. But now I am back in Riggins and I find it a better place to live in every way — if we can keep the rest of you out.
- need open city dump so can haul there yourself, need street work, need better pay to attract good teachers.
- We are united like a small country trying to protect our natural resources by keeping outsiders out. With jealousy of the outsiders trying to get what we have, can anyone blame us for not wanting outsiders to come in?
- need discount grocery store.
- need medical services, appliance repair, drug store and gift shop.
- Riggins is quite adequate as a small town.
- need more business — better paying jobs, a larger library.
- There is no room to spread out in Riggins. The sewage system is currently inadequate. The people of Riggins dislike people from other states. It takes a long time to be accepted. I doubt if any business that opened in Riggins would do well.
- need drug store, building supplies store.
- need department store, beauty salon, doctor, dentist, drug store, art and craft supplies. Should be art courses in schools; need more competition in stores — same merchandise in McCall is cheaper.
- need supermarket, something for kids, swimming pool.
- I have no personal or business involvements in Riggins so do not feel qualified to answer.
- We would be better off if some of you S.O.B's would keep your noses out.
- need another good grocery store, a drug store, adequate police and fire protection. Get Californians to quit trying to make Riggins just like the place they left; they came here to get away and now are trying to make this into the same.
- I would like the Federal Government to stop threatening the well-being of this town and its surroundings.
- need drug store, medical clinic.
- need more recreation for children — movie theatre, bowling alley, recreation hall.
- better recreation like bowling, more clothing stores.
- The store could be enlarged — need small drug store.
- Riggins has no room for expansion unless they bridge the Salmon River.
- need hardware and appliance store, doctor, dentist — need first aid station with minor overnight stay possible.
- need repair shop and parts house, appliance store.
- need a dentist, drug store. We do have a doctor now; need less people trying to change our environment.
- need medical facilities, better shopping facilities.
- There are too many saloons.
- We spend approximately $500 per year in Riggins, mostly for gas and sporting goods.
- We need to quit being pushed around by big shots and educated idiots.
- We need adequate sewer system. Leave the Salmon River as is.
- need more things for teens to do, medical facilities, drug store, larger public library.
- need full-time doctor, all night camping at park.
- need lighted areas at riding arena, better highway, more school facilities for broader education. Government should turn loose some laws on land.
- We want local business to stay healthy. The store closed at Lucile where we used to buy from oats to shoes and groceries — now we trade at Riggins. We like the rural towns and want to live in peace instead of behind locked doors or in unfriendly conditions. I have worked all over the U.S. and always look forward to coming back to the river.
- Town should probably feature recreation to bring more money into town.
- Since we live 30+ miles from Riggins, only minor purchases are made there. We trade mostly at Grangeville which is 10 miles closer.
- need home improvement supplies and repairs, mechanical repair, and welding. Need improved electrical service.
- need sewage system, recreation buildings for public meetings and concerts, boat dock, larger park, swimming facilities.
- need drug store.
- need better medical and dental care, better teachers.
- need small manufacturing plant; need to develop the surrounding natural resources.
- need recreation facilities for youth, food market to provide more competition, drug store.
- should quit catering to tourists. Average citizen doesn't benefit; need more activities for young people.
- need good cash grocery store.
- need drug store, dentist, auto repair shop, movies.
- need full medical clinic, community center.
- should make available more classes like drivers education, hire a few more qualified teachers — need another variety and clothing store.

Riggins - Consumer Questionnaire (Cont.)

- need a full time doctor, furniture store, lumber yard, recreation for children.
- need good grocery store for competition, dry goods and hardware store, furniture and appliance store, drug store — need recreation for teenagers such as drive-in movies, bowling, or roller rink.
- need city sewer system, a drug store, a highly competitive grocery chain store.
- We need more recreation for young people, more and better stores for competition.
- need new stores.
- need supermarket and clothing store — need to stop price setting conspiracy by big logging interests in Grangeville, Riggins, McCall, and Council.
- need drug store — need something for teenagers (bowling, pool, skating) — am proud of improvements such as clinic with part-time doctor, optometrist, tennis court, park, and high school. Riggins is a clean town as small communities go.
- need building supply and auto repair establishments.
- need youth center, meeting hall, swimming pool.
- need sewer system.
- need a good shopping center, a good supermarket with good produce.
- need an overall master plan with proper zoning for all facilities and development.
- need swimming pool, recreation, or entertainment for the young people, better shopping center, something like KOA campgrounds.
- need drug store, medical clinic, recreation facilities for young people.
- need better schools offering college preparatory courses, better recreation facilities for youth, complete auto repair, a good full time doctor.
- need more competition in groceries and other items.
- need drug store, more effective police force.
- need drug store.
- We live in White Bird. Grangeville is closer; have always done major trading in Grangeville.
- We need a drug store, hardware store, a good auto mechanic. We need better qualified teachers in our schools. We need more competition in fuel oil, propane gas, groceries, and other items.
- Actually the only things we ever purchased in Riggins were groceries and gas and oil. The rest is not available. Recently a doctor has moved in but we have not changed as yet. We did bank in Riggins but changed when bank manager vetoed any progressive improvements in the city. If you cannot afford to go out of town for needed items, especially groceries, you are hurting.
- I have lived in Riggins for 20 years and have found it to be a good clean place. In the last 5 years a lot of retirees have settled in Riggins. They immediately want to change it into a stereotype of what they wanted to get away from in the first place. We are handicapped because we are the end of the line from either Lewiston or Boise. Consequently there is little or no competition in the sale of items we have to purchase. One of the worst drawbacks is our lack of representation in county and state government. We pay taxes in Idaho County but are forced to vote with people in Adams and Valley counties for some offices. Our county officers, and for the most part the county seat, look on us as poor relatives, seen but not heard. It is almost impossible to run and elect a local person to county office.
- We need our sewer system built, need recreation for young people.
- need better teachers and better school system, a better food and dry goods store, better library service (more books and new building), more recreation activities.
- need drug store, dry goods store, building supply store, swimming pool, recreation center.
- need theatre, department store, better medical services.
- need drug store.
- need dentist, sewer system, grocery store with competitive prices.
- need drug store, shopping center, movie theatre.
- need variety store, shoe repair shop.
- need library.
- need retail lumber and building supply store, drug store.
- need one good supermarket with fair prices — might be able to support a weekly movie.
- need recreation such as swimming pool, skating rink, picture show.
- need a drug store, a theatre, or something for teenagers to do.
- need drug store, dentist, department store, nursing home.
- need shopping center.
- badly need a drug store.
- need swimming pool, youth recreation center.
- A drug store is needed — theatre would be nice.
- My employment is at Grangeville, which makes Riggins out of the way for me and my family so we do almost all of our business at Grangeville.
- need sidewalks, a larger building for public library.
- need shopping center, completion of sewer project.
- Outsiders should be kept out (Californians). Everything in Riggins is fine but too many roads are being built in the surrounding areas.
- need full-time doctor.
- Government needs to stop the inflation it started — get prices back where they were; need more competition in stores.
- need more area to expand as town is growing steadily.
- need another grocery store, better fire protection, and some means to inform public of council actions.
- need drug store, activities for young people (dances, sporting events) art or craft classes, youth center.

Riggins - Business Questionnaire

- business up — more people traveling.
- planning on selling.
- need electrical and refrigeration repair service and souvenir shop.
- Riggins operates of the clique, by the clique, and for the clique.
- We need a drug store and a good competitive shopping center.
- We feel the classification (Wild River) of the Salmon River will hurt Riggins.
- can't think of any new services or businesses needed in Riggins.

— will lose business (septic tank cleaning) when city installs new sewage system.
— business up — more people.
— need entertainment opportunities.
— need more timber contracts and another mill.
— need lower interest rates to make financing available to local buyers and builders.
— need drug store, dentist, lawyer.
— poor growth prospects for business.
— We serve mostly tourists — some town people.
— We could use a good clothing store, maybe a dime store, and certainly a drug store.
— Riggins will stabilize if highway doesn't bypass town — if it does, we die.
— With all the campers and such our business is slowed down. They have a free parking area on each end of town and all up the river and that doesn't help us any. Maybe they aren't supposed to stay overnight but they do. I have to pay Federal tax, highway tax, state tax, and city tax and then the people park in the parks for free. It isn't fair no matter how you look at it.
— prospects for growth of business provided we can get additional fuel.
— Family activities should be more plentiful.
— business increased. The American public and working force moves more now than ever before — and more people are setting up housekeeping.
— need qualified TV repair man.

Oakley - Consumer Questionnaire

— Our high school could be improved. Any new stores could compete with out-of-town stores would have a good business; a branch bank needed.
— need sewer system, bank, hardware store.
— need hardware and appliance stores, barber shop, library.
— need variety store, bank.
— We like it the way it is. We don't want to encourage out-of-staters.
— need hardware, general repair, building supply store.
— need doctor, bank, hardware, restaurant, library, and some new teachers.
— need more stores, doctor in town.
— need hardware store but it would not be feasible, also small factory or plant for employment.
— need hardware, branch bank, sewer system.
— There is 1 grocery store, 1 drug store, no bank, furniture stores, repair shops of any kind, appliance stores, dentists, doctors, or many other needed items. We do have a park adjacent to a swimming pool on Main Street. Nearly all shopping and jobs must be done 20 miles away. I myself am disabled and no bus service or medical help is available in Oakley.
— need self-service gas, bank, paramedic or clinic, business to open jobs for both men and women.
— need dances for teenagers and adults, better clothing and fabric selection, banking services.
— a doctor or some medical facility needed, youth recreation, better law enforcement, a small industry.
— We could use a bowling alley, a bus line between Oakley and Burley, a shoe repair shop, a tennis court, and miniature golf.
— need bank.
— need branch bank, sewer, and new water system for town (rural water OK), variety and hardware store, doctor.
— should give more people chance to open new businesses, need medical services, self-service gas.
— need better fire engine and department, stronger law enforcement, banking services.
— Roads should be resurfaced when needed not 10 years later. Vacant lots should be kept free of weeds.
— need better schools, more stores (grocery, hardware).
— need more community pride — should clean up and rebuild.
— need another church, a teen center.
— need hardware store, recreation facilities, doctor, hospital.
— need doctor, dentist, bank, shoe shop.
— need hardware store, utilities (water system).
— need competitive stores of all kinds.
— My wife started working in Burley and is more convenient to buy there.
— No amount of income would encourage us to move.
— retired from farming, moved to town in 1973, engaged in building new house for self.
— Oakley hasn't changed in the last 5 years.
— doctor closed Oakley office.
— more business needed to create jobs.
— need bank, hardware store, machine repair shop, clothing store.
— need hardware store, restaurant staying open later than 6 p.m., park improvement.
— should consolidate small surrounding schools, need medical service.
— need another church denomination, more recreation, more active Chamber of Commerce.
— If Oakley people could have all their needs met in this community, and if the people would patronize the area, it would mean millions of dollars used in this area instead of supporting Burley.
— need better police, doctor, dentist.
— need hardware store, branch bank, recreation facilities (swings, slides, sandbox in park, bowling alley).
— need improved water system, sewer system, more adequate police protection.
— We need a hardware store and lumber and electrical supplies, plumber and electrician. A greenhouse and nursery would do well in this area. We need some recreation (bowling alley or skating rink) and some form of recreation for older people.
— need hardware store, doctor.
— need doctor in town, better phone service, better mountain roads for recreation, recreation for young people.
— need banking, medical services.
— need medical facility, hardware, sporting goods store, bank.
— Oakley is a community with potential which will unfortunately never be utilized. We are making plans to move our family to Burley — have lived here all our life.
— need a good variety store, lumber yard.
— need improvements in school, improve sewer and water system, more and improved oiled roads.
— need more recreation facilities (tennis courts),

Oakley - Consumer Questionnaire (Cont.)

more farm related business (hardware, metal work, parts), bank, closer medical facilities.

- improved water system, marshal should be more strict with teenagers, keep town cleaner.
- need closer medical help, hardware store.
- need sidewalks, sewer system, bank.
- need bank, hardware, and lumber yard.
- need enough job and business opportunities to keep our young people. We need some growth. Our problem is a half dozen families own all the land and they aren't going to get rid of any soon.
- need hardware, furniture store, bank - improve water and sewer system.
- Oakley is situated in a very productive valley with some 30,000 acres farmland; raises many kinds of crops, has a reservoir 135 feet high and 4 miles long, is a stock raising area — cattle, hogs and sheep, also have 7 different stone quarries operating. We have to go to Burley, some 20 miles away, to do much of our shopping and banking. We would like to change this situation very much.
- With competition only 18 or 20 miles away the size of Burley, I believe it would be hard for Oakley to grow in stores or business. It is 20 minutes to a town of around 10,000 but I give all the trade I can to this little town. I have lived here for 38 years, went to school here from third grade through high school. I feel we have good schools and community.
- It is too bad the young have to go to the pool hall — need a nice restaurant, bowling alley.
- need city sewer, sidewalks, street signs. I think a plant making trailer houses or pickup campers would help town.
- a less church-dominated community, need recreation rental store, better streets and roads, should restore old vacant houses.
- need hardware store, lumber yard, city water and sewer, general city clean-up.
- need good restaurant, equipment and auto repair, barber shop, library, better sidewalks — remove old buildings.
- Burley is 20 miles away and that town has many more stores to choose from since it is a lot larger place, but I wouldn't care to live in Burley. Oakley climate is much better. Oakley water system is better especially if and when the power goes off as it is gravity flow from the mountains.
- improve city board, sidewalks, and streets, clean up yards, improve cemetery.
- too few people own all the land — need a grocery store that would compete with the one in Burley, a bank, sidewalks, general clean-up of town, businesses to use the vacant buildings.
- Thank you for this opportunity to help. I hope this study will help Oakley.
- need doctor, bank, small industry, development of recreation areas.
- need branch bank, hardware and variety store, nurse practitioner or doctor once or twice a week.
- need younger more aggressive government, hardware and lumber store.
- need hardware store, restaurant.
- We need a good hardware and variety store. We are in desperate need of a neater town.
- need sewer system water lines, bank.
- need bank, doctor.
- improve water system, sidewalks, open ditches-improve road to Goose Creek.
- need bank, hardware store, tennis courts.
- need clinic with doctor, dentist, and optometrist, branch bank, bowling or skating buildings for youth and adults.
- improve schools, need doctor, hardware store — clean up trash and pigs close to town.
- improve city ditches and water system, need bank, hardware store; improve road to Goose Creek since a lot of money comes from those ranches to community.
- need hardware store, motel, constable, lumber yard, hospital, nursing home, doctor, bank, fire protection.
- need repair services.
- need better medical, banking services, city improvements.
- need new sewer and water for city, long range progressive planning for city, local buyers coop for farm supplies, better schools and roads.
- need bank, hardware and lumber store, clothing store.
- need hardware and lumber store.
- need branch bank, hardware, clothing stores.
- I would like more things available for my children (swimming lessons, dancing lessons); nice clothing store, restaurant, library, and better road service.
- need a center for the youth.
- need hardware store.
- need to clean up town, dog leash law, sewage system, sidewalks.
- need bank, hardware store, complete Merc store.
- need medical facilities, competitive grocery stores, more recreation for young people.
- need bank, hardware and lumber store, doctor.
- You can see by this questionnaire what Oakley needs. The people here will not accept any outsiders. I know because my kids and I are considered as such. Good luck if you think you can change anything here.
- need branch bank.
- need sewer system, hardware store, bank. The new mayor and councilmen may improve town.
- clean up town to make more attractive; take advantage of historical setting of area. Need better grocery, machine repair services, industry.
- need bank, farm supply store.
- improve wage scale, need more business for more jobs, need more competition.
- need a real lawman and a local judge to put teeth into law and order.
- need a bank, doctor, hardware, clothing store. We are getting a public library soon. Improve roads, sidewalks, water lines, sewer system, general clean up.
- need bank, hardware and variety store.
- need better police protection, better water system, health clinic.
- need light manufacturing, water and sewage system.
- need everything.
- need small industrial business of some type.
- need hardware store, shoe repair shop, barber shop, bowling alley, doctor; need better schools, more rural involvement with city government.

(Several longer letters and newspaper clippings enclosed with the returned questionnaires show some of the historical setting and current status of the town of Oakley).

Permit me to add several historical events that have and are taking place here in Oakley.

I was born and raised here in Oakley in the year 1901. I have lived here most all my life and have seen many changes take place, not only in Oakley but here in southern Idaho as well.

Oakley was settled in the spring of 1879 by several families migrating by teams and wagons, from Salt Lake City. These were strong, sturdy, religious people wanting to find a new place to settle down and earn a living in a new region.

They came to the Oakley Valley and found it to be a large valley surrounded by mountains on the east, west, and south with a large creek running to the north almost straight through the valley and emptying into the Snake River to the north. This was a very level, fertile, and grass covered land. Only a few trappers and ranchers were here, living along Goose Creek at that time.

These people worked hard and well, consequently the town grew and new events happened. Farming and stock raising became the most important business.

In the year 1908 the people were able to get a large company to build a large earth filled reservoir to hold the flood water for later use in the valley. It began in 1908 and was completed in the fall of 1912.

More people came and made their homes here; also many new businesses were established and did very well.

At about that time and through 1916 there were two railroads, arriving daily in Oakley. One was the Southern Pacific railroad bringing freight and passengers. The other was the Oregon Short Line coming in from Burley carrying freight, mail, and passengers.

Oakley began to grow both in size and population, also many new farms using the newly stored water from the dam. Now the farmers could use this water to grow diversified crops. More land could be cultivated bringing in much more revenue.

There were at this time one new bank, two grocery stores, one hardware store, two doctors, one dentist, a new high school, one garage, one livery stable, a post office, one men's clothing store, one barber shop, one drug store, and others, one lumber yard, etc. It looked as though Oakley was starting to be a boom town. Then in 1917 the Vipont mine opened up just 27 miles south of Oakley. This proved to be a very rich mine producing silver, gold, and some lead. All the freight was shipped in over the two railroads to Oakley, also many people worked in this mine. By 1918 there was a large mill built to smelter the low grade ore. All the freight used for building purposes was freighted to the mine by freight wagon and horses. There the ore was freighted back to Oakley and shipped to Salt Lake City for smeltering. Oakley doubled in size, in population, and businesses. At this time there were over 2500 people living and working in Oakley. It was the largest city in southern Idaho at this time. It was a prosperous and well organized city.

In the year 1919 came the great disaster. The Stock Market collapsed causing a money panic and a depression throughout the county. The price of silver and gold dropped to a new low causing the mine to shut down. Many businesses went broke. One bank closed its doors causing many people to lose their earnings.

All in all, these events caused several business houses to go broke, consequently people had to move away from Oakley to find work. This left but a few hundred families here in Oakley. The second bank went broke and closed its doors, causing a loss to many farmers, cattle and sheep men — some sold their entire herds. Several never did make a comeback; they moved away in order to find work.

Oakley, although hurt badly financially, decided to make the best of things. The people were doing pretty well until 1929 rolled around. This was the year when the great depression started and lasted during the 1930's. The whole country was affected both physically, mentally, and financially.

Oakley was again hurt badly financially. Our second bank went broke and closed its door. Many people lost their savings again. Cattle sold for $35.00 to $50.00 per head, hogs sold for 6 cents per pound, wheat at 60 cents per bushel, eggs @ 6 cents per dozen, an acre of land sold for $50 to $100 per acre — just naming a few items. More farmers lost their farms and more businesses went broke, as more people moved elsewhere to find work.

By now the cities of Burley and Twin Falls were considered boom towns. Many families moved to these cities. The people here didn't have much left for the town to get going again. But we eventually pulled through this depression and started over again.

Now, Oakley has one of the finest, most level, rich, and productive farming land in the state. Some 30,000 acres are farmed. There are several large ranch owners who raise thousands of beef and sheep and fatten them out and sell on the market. We have several stone quarries, a few miles south and east of here producing thousands of tons of beautiful building stone, which is being shipped to many states. Oakley has many scenic mountains nearby for tourists to climb and see; also good fishing and hunting. The Great City of Rocks lies just 18 miles to the south, and a ski resort just 23 miles to the northeast. There are many antique old homes still standing and being used. Oakley can expand all four sides.

I was born in Oakley, Idaho, Oct. 17, 1889, and have lived there all my life except nine years I spent in the Province of Alberta, Canada.

My grandparents and my parents moved from Utah in 1882 when my grandfather was called to preside over a branch of the L.D.S. Church in the little settlement in Oakley, Idaho.

Oakley was an early town in southern Idaho, before many of the towns were formed. I can remember when there were no settlements along the Snake River, no Burley, no Twin Falls. The nearest railroad was Minidoka, Idaho. Farming, cattle and sheep raising were developed. There was a shortage of water for irrigation. A dam was put in the Goose Creek and farming was increased.

With all the big farming projects and farming machinery, little farms faded away and people went to Burley and other towns for employment.

There were two railroads coming to Oakley at one time, the Oregon Shortline from Burley when the Vipont mine was shipping ore, and the Idaho Southern from Milner which handled the supplies when the Oakley Dam was being constructed.

The young people here had to leave to find work and there are elderly people in the town now.

It has been a town of beautiful homes and a lot of them are being restored.

A. Meredith Neal visited me at my home several times when he was taking pictures of the older homes.

I have been a widow for 35 years and have lived alone for 25 years but decided to sell my home and property and come and live with my daughter here in Oregon.

Oakley has an attraction quite near, the City of Rocks. Idaho State officials have been trying for years to have it made a state park. Frank Church has been working on it lately.

OAKLEY HAS NEW IDEAS, OLD PROBLEMS

(South Idaho Press, Jan. 11, 1974)

(Written by newly elected Mayor Tom Miller)

The city of Oakley has just undergone a change of hands in the city government. We appreciate the work done by the past mayor and the city council. Now with a new mayor and two new councilmen, there are a lot of new ideas being discussed concerning our city. However, we cannot overlook the old problem of the water system in the city of Oakley, which has been less than sufficient. The solution of this problem will be our main goal for the coming years. This year we hope to have laid the two to two and one-half miles of pipe already purchased, and depending upon the cost of pipe in the future, we are planning to have laid an equal amount of pipe in addition to last year's amount. After all of the pipeline is in there will probably be an increase in monthly water bills for city residents of at least $2.00 extra.

Another project we have planned for the very near future is widening of the bridge in front of Oakley Elementary School at least five or six feet on each side.

Because Oakley is an area with great potential for growth, a building or zoning ordinance, especially for mobile homes, seems the wisest step for us to take at this time. We have some beautiful home sites available and rather than try to curtail the growth we want to help plan and organize it to be able to provide the best services to our residents.

We will be enforcing ordinances in the city for cleanup of property especially removal of weeds, junk, and other fire hazards. The dog ordinance will be enforced as soon as feasible.

At the present time our city does not have a general sewer system, and because of the prohibitive costs we will not have one for quite some time. This poses a problem in acquiring federal funds because in most cases a city must have a sewer system to qualify for such money for housing and building.

We want to emphasize again that the shut-off date for delinquent water users is January 15. If the bills are unpaid the water will be turned off at that time.

Oakley has a large population of elderly people who are living on a fixed income and have found themselves hard hit by the so-called fuel shortage. Just this winter their heat bills have increased 70 percent which doesn't seem fair to them, especially since the intermountain area is a net exporter of oil. I feel we have a responsibility to these citizens and I have written a letter to Senator McClure voicing my concern and protests against such manipulating of all of us by the fuel industries. I urge all of you to write to your politicians. Since they depend upon you and your vote, put a little pressure on them to get our fuel situation back into perspective.

We have many plans we would like to see materialize for Oakley, but this will not happen overnight, and definitely not without the support and cooperation of the city residents. For this reason the public is especially invited to a meeting of the city council February 6 at 8 p.m., and we invite you to share with us your suggestions and let us hear any complaints.

We will try to operate our city smoothly and efficiently at the same time trying to be fair to everyone.

MEDICAL UNIT IN OAKLEY IS CONSIDERED BY LDS

(South Idaho Press, Jan. 11, 1974)

The possibility of health care services in Oakley was revived again Thursday when officials of the Health Services Corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints visited the area.

Richard E. McDermott, director of the Rural Health Clinics, and Robert Barton, former administrator of Cassia Memorial Hospital and present official of the Health Services Corporation, met with Fred Schloss, administrator of Cassia Memorial to discuss the possibility of establishing a Rural Health Clinic in Oakley. They also went to Oakley and collected information from Aleta Stringham, secretary of the chamber of commerce concerning the economics of the area, the population, surrounding medical facilities, and attitudes of the people toward such a program.

The investigating team and area doctors have expressed doubts that the people of Oakley could and would support a full-time clinic. Those who are in favor of such a program are urged to take a few minutes to write a letter stating their feelings and give the letters to Mrs. Stringham at Oakley Drug. They will then be forwarded to Mr. McDermott.

Mrs. Stringham has already received several letters, and stated that if the people of Oakley really want this program, they must step forward and say so or Oakley may be passed by for a more remote area with a larger population.

In the event that the clinic was deemed feasible, the Health Services Corporation would sponsor it until it was well established. It would be run by a nurse or family health practitioner trained in medical procedures who would consult with the patient's physician. In serious circumstances the patient would be referred to the physician for treatment.

Many people have expressed positive feelings toward such a program, but the decision is now in the hands of the Health Services Corporation. According to Mrs. Stringham it would be an ideal solution to the problems of sitting in overcrowded waiting rooms just for routine medical care, the inconvenience of traveling the roads in winter and the wait for ambulance and emergency room care.

Oakley - Business Questionnaire

— increased pump irrigation has helped business.
— need doctor.
— need hardware store.
— need health clinic and bank.
— Increased building in Northwest has helped business.
— add a hardware store.

Malad — Consumer Questionnaire

— most of businesses could improve appearance of their building inside and out. The entire city could use a general face lifting; however, it is a good place to live.
— need street improvement, shopping center.
— need more business competition, more available loan service, more community development interest.
— need pizza place.
— We need a complete change of businessmen, then maybe there would be some incentive for us to do business in Malad.
— need another drug store, doctor, dentist.
— need better shopping facilities with lower prices.
— need more than one doctor and drug store; too much reliance on church ties. Make Malad associate with Idaho rather than Utah, give Idaho people a chance instead of requiring that you come from Utah schools and colleges.
— need more industry to create new jobs.
— need competition in stores, service of additional doctor, more farm machinery dealers, up-to-date teaching staff.
— need new vocational building at school, new gym, need a large variety store.
— clean up old buildings.
— is room for more medical services.
— need better city street department.
— We need more of the same.
— need more stores, business opportunity, recreation.
— need shopping center, more recreation, better service, more jobs.
— need grocery store, clothing store.
— We need industry.
— need more recreational places, a better selection of products, more competition for lower prices.
— need jobs so young people will stay here, recreational opportunities, competitive prices.
— need competitive prices.
— need better choice of clothing stores, more shows and plays, not so many bars, need golf course, closer skiing.
— need better roads; cement more of street near Ford garage.
— need Sears store, better law enforcement.
— need drug education, recreation opportunities for young and old.
— need more competition in business, more employment.
— need a variety store, small appliance repair shop, another doctor; start up flour mill.
— We need full-time veterinary service.
— need more businesses, drug store, another doctor, more electricians and plumbers.
— We need a tech school, another doctor, shoe repair shop, some light industry to provide more employment.
— one large hardware store with a wide range of products for sale.
— more recreation facilities.
— new stores (a five and dime), another drive-in, new leaders (no one will run against the old ones); better police force.
— more people need civic pride, improve streets and sidewalks, drug store and variety store needed.
— at least two drug stores (more competition) — better and newer movie theatre.
— clothing store, chain grocery store, higher wage scale, new industry to raise standard of living and help with taxes.
— larger shopping center, more recreation.
— Something should be done to create civic pride. Vacant lots and old buildings need attention. Repair streets and sidewalks, remove old cars from streets and parking lots.
— Malad is a good place to raise a family — hunting and fishing opportunities are unsurpassed, other outdoor recreation activities are available (snowmobiling, skiing, hiking, picnicking), plenty of fresh unpolluted air and sufficient water.
— need bigger and better selection of merchandise, better service on products purchased, road maintenance should be improved.
— need chain store to hold grocery prices in line, recreation facilities for youth; renovate old buildings.
— need a small sewing industry employing 30-40 women, a beautification program such as that in Brigham City.
— town needs to be cleaned up (streets, business fronts, vacant lots). Need new gym for high school and better vocational facilities at school.
— need farm machinery dealer - Schools should pay more attention to vocational and trade courses.
— need dress shop, another doctor.
— need any business that will build the community and help keep our community clean.
— need Chinese and Mexican restaurant, a shopping mall with supermarket, a year round swimming pool.
— I think businessmen in Malad should work as a unit to compete with outside prices — need two grocery stores, one good dry goods store, keep the flour mill, add a bakery. We have a very good drive-in. Improve the streets and sidewalks, try to put the tax money to better use. My taxes were over $1500 on what some would call a small farm (1200 acres).
— There are no better people anywhere than the people in Malad, I think they have the ability, with a little cooperative effort, to make Malad a real nice place to live.
— improve city streets, need better variety of stores, merchants should give better service on merchandise sold.

Malad - Consumer Questionnaire (Cont.)

- add shoe repair, more movies, bakery. Bus schedule is lousy. Appliance and TV repair is worse; hard to buy quality clothing and shoes. Modern apartments or rental housing is badly needed.
- need chain grocery store — more competition.
- feeding of livestock in city leads to unsanitary conditions.
- Grocery and drug prices are too high. To my knowledge community services are excellent.
- need new business, another doctor.
- At this time changes are very difficult.
- need more ag. related business. Should be better use of our tax money, less county employees. We need better commodity transportation.
- need any type of store (groceries, clothing, hardware) with selection and decent prices. City and county roads and snow removal are poor. Education facilities and teachers need improvement. Need Chamber of Commerce and business interested in community rather than profit.
- need business to create jobs for unemployed.
- need cooperation from the money men to encourage industry to settle in the Malad area. Need changes to improve tax structure - allow more tax money to go to critical city improvements such as roads, sewer system, and improving present water system.
- need better streets and general cleanup, better stocked stores, supermarket, nicer motels and cafe.
- need more job opportunities.
- need shopping center, better administration of hospital. Taxes are too high for elderly. Raise taxes on older buildings in poor repair and lower taxes on well kept property.
- need J.C. Penneys, Safeway, K Mart.
- need more clothing stores, larger selection in all areas, more or better recreational facilities, better street cleaning and snow removal, general face lifting for shopping area which looks drab and depressing.
- need another drug store for competitive prices. Need active C of C and Jaycees. Need more effective and timely repair services. Definitely needs another doctor because of elderly population.
- need farm equipment outlet.
- need lower city taxes, need more industry for employment. We need trades taught in our high school. We need a variety store, lower prices on groceries.
- need higher wage scale for jobs. Should be less control by a few city leaders.
- distribute jobs to more families and have less women working. Need another drug store, less beer parlors.
- need more machinery dealers and parts service, a good clothing store, a lumber yard with competitive prices, better repair service on locally purchased items.
- Malad needs a good diesel repair shop for tractors and trucks as there are enough in the county to support a good shop. We need to have the town streets fixed up.
- Old houses, barns, and sheds should be torn down and new fronts added to old businesses and stores. We should do better with resurfacing and repairing city streets. Need better sewer system.
- I was raised in Malad until I was 12 years old. We then moved to Salt Lake City. I moved back to Malad about 2½ years ago. I work in Salt Lake and return to Malad on my days off. I bought an old home and am remodeling it. I will retire and live in Malad.
- need greater emphasis on community beautification, improved streets, gutters and sidewalks; need improved education program with greater emphasis on vocational courses. Higher income could help solve all of these problems.
- need a 5 and 10 store.
- The taxes on my property were impossible to pay since I only received $110 in Social Security.
- desperately need a chain store handling small items (hair care, toys, linens, kitchen ware). Need new industry to provide more jobs, tax dollars.
- do away with alcoholic beverages; need better selection of clothing.
- need better job opportunities, better recreation facilities.
- need wages competitive with nearby towns, another drug store.
- chance of making a good living in Malad is slim and small businesses are being forced out.
- need more rental housing, another drug store, two doctors.

Malad - Business Questionnaire

- I think we need more business establishments to create more employment for our people.
- need business district improvement and beautification project to hide the ugly barns and outhouses! No barn owner will clean or remove them.
- need produce truck, bakery.
- industry expansion would cause transportation problems, sewer and water problems.
- Volume was up 5% due to inflation.
- We need better farm equipment repair services, but low wage scale hinders this type of expansion.
- should add new businesses to our community.
- Unless gasoline curtailment cuts down tourist travel, we look for continued growth.
- We all need to advertise on the freeway that we are in business. At present it is difficult to do so.
- Due to size and being a farming community, I don't expect any great changes. The trend seems to be to eliminate the small operator and go big business.
- business up due to government loans on homes.
- Growth would require permanent industry to attract younger population.
- We need more competition here like another druggist, variety store, dentist and doctor, and recreation for the young kids.
- Malad could benefit from some low cost housing for our elderly. Count all the widows in Malad who live alone in a large home where if we had low cost housing in a good location, they could sell their homes and live more happily and with constant companionship. This would prevent a heck of a lot from going to a nursing home.
- need establishment that uses flour to make finished product.
- Business decreased due to financial condition of establishment.
- more stores for competition and less taverns.
- We need more industries for employment.
- remove the bars and lounges - add a men's clothing and shoe store.

Malad - Business Questionnaire (Cont.)

- If growth which we have had during this past year continues again this coming year, we will probably have to finish off the rest of the basement and put some of our operation down there to allow us to employ the additional one to two more people we will probably need.
- need a nice place to eat that was new, modern, and daylight, cut rate drugstore, nice motel and supper-club, golf course, fix up the storefronts, pull down old unused buildings.
- A substantial manufacturing expansion would induce several new businesses to start up such as another drive-in, a catalog sales store for Sears or Montgomery Ward, perhaps another repair garage for cars and farm machinery. This amount of additional housing would almost certainly force us to have another electrician and another plumbing installation and repair man.
- need another building contractor and a good solid movie theatre.
- Improving the appearance of the downtown area, and advertising the Malad business area more would help immeasurably.
- Industry here tends to attract only very migrant and unstable workers.
- add any business that will add jobs and use local products.
- outlook for business is bleak.
- prospects for continued business growth.
- need manufacturing or business to give community a weekly payroll.
- need to get local flour mill going steady.
- prospects for continued growth if we can get a supply to sell.
- added factory. We would like to see a farm supply franchise come in.
- need wider variety of merchandise within our current businesses.
- A substantial industrial expansion would create a severe housing shortage as our limited labor pool would have to be augmented from outside sources. As the housing shortage was met, a general increase in sale of goods and services would be noted throughout the community, possibly creating the need for establishing new businesses.
- The addition of more physicians would help meet health care requirements in our community. At present many of our residents travel to neighboring towns and cities to seek health care.
- plan on selling business.
- Banks don't give much encouragement to young people.
- Retired parents stay on farms and keep younger people out, so younger folks go to big cities for bigger wages. Results in no population growth.
- Industries hire chosen few — relatives and friends.
- I would like to see a clothing manufacturing plant established here, and a manufacturing plant that could employ those young adults, male and female, that are born and raised here — who would stay if the opportunities were here for earning a good living.
- New industry would help our business and Malad. At least when we have had people employed on a steady basis, such as Throkol employment and when Crawther's Mill was producing up to capacity, all of these seem to help the businesses of Malad, ours included.
- I have always been optimistic about Malad's opportunities for gradual growth. I started a business from scratch and have grown every year.
- Anything that will bring more employment will help the town.
- no change in business volume unless town grows.
- We need industry to locate here and keep our young couples here. The town is dying of old age due to lack of employment to hold people here.
- additional mechanic shop needed.
- New industry would do nothing for business — people employed would go out of town to buy, due to higher prices here and not enough variety to buy from.
- prospects for continued growth of business.
- need more recreation for young people.
- business provides good work until I retire.
- business up due to increased support from other businesses, farmers, and new businesses.
- need restaurant, shoe repair shop, men and women's clothing, bakery, and youth center.
- Malad City and area in my opinion will continue to grow at a steady rate. Faster as new industry expands and new industry is attracted. I for one will continue to seek out new business which will add employment for our area.
- Substantial industrial growth would cause housing shortage and school funding problems.
- Business is up due to opening of interstate.
- Substantial industrial growth would mean more revenue, therefore more tax money to improve our community. Money spent here would create new business for all the businessmen.
- If there were substantial industrial growth, we and other employers would have a hard time finding enough help in the short term and our labor costs would increase. In the longer term Malad would benefit considerably as this would help to reduce the flow of young people away from Malad.
- business up due to increased production by the grain farmers using commercial fertilizer.
- no other services or businesses needed unless the population grows.
- Large chain grocery store needed for lower prices. An additional plumber and electrician is needed. Presently the town has only one barber and should be able to support at least one more. Also our community has only one doctor and should be able to support two, especially with our new hospital facility. We have no full time TV repair and small appliance shop in Malad.
- If there were substantial industrial expansion, it would be very difficult to find labor enough for the business. As a result it would raise the present wages being paid for unskilled labor in Malad.
- business up — influx of people.
- need industrial or manufacturing plant.
- We need more industry to bring more people into the community.
- Manufacturing should be added.
- business up — less competition and good prices.
- We own some property outside of town. We plan on building a new home and shop so we will have room to expand.
- business increased — more homes outside the city limits need service.

Shoshone - Consumer Questionnaire

- need combination motel-restaurant-lounge to provide entertainment and catch some of the traffic going to and from Sun Valley.
- provide recreation/entertainment for teenagers - presently there is none.
- need adequate hardware store/lumber yard so building wouldn't be so difficult.
- consolidate Dietrich - Shoshone - Richfield schools to provide a better education for the children — although this would reduce teacher numbers, it would allow higher salaries, therefore drawing a higher caliber teacher/administrator. People in this community and state sacrifice a proper education for their children by maintaining one room schools for a dying community to identify with.
- construct a chain food market — the family type markets charge exorbitant prices trying to make a living on each customer, thereby driving most of the shopping to larger adjacent towns.
- get rid of elementary principal and improve school, install a department store and competitive supermarket, replace city and county officials.
- need shopping center and clean industry with approximately 50 to 75 employees.
- need youth center — properly managed — with swimming pool.
- need proper lighting of residential areas.
- need clean factories, more stores, one supermarket.
- grocer has driven business from town.
- need better eating facilities.
- Federal and state employees should live in the town where employed.
- Businessmen have very little community spirit.
- promote some form of industry, new business.
- more youth recreation.
- discourage out of state corporation land buying.
- need supermarket, child and adult clothing, lumber yard, better automotive repair.
- built new home seven years ago and do not feel that I'm getting much out of my taxes — no street work in my neighborhood whatsoever.
- larger better stocked grocery store needed, nice restaurant for family meals, banquets needed, hardware and dry goods store should up-grade service.
- need swimming pool, cafe, jewelry and watch repair, drug store.
- need good appliance repair shop.
- need department store, variety store, car dealer, and manufacturing of any kind.
- need supermarket, auto repair.
- need good, well stocked, competitive supermarket, additional doctor, swimming pool, good well run restaurant.
- need clothing store.
- too much money goes to sports events. A better program for girls should be set up.
- need large chain supermarket.
- need supermarket, shoe store and repair.
- need more local support for existing businesses.
- need new community high school, school consolidation.
- need general expansion of shopping facilities, tighter scrutiny of public employees (accountability), increased county and city population, a change in public attitude leaning toward progressiveness.
- Shoshone could use a large clothing store.
- need supermarket.
- need a good department store, a good family type cafe, and a processing or manufacturing plant for employment of local people.
- need a shopping center, recreation center for the youth, make rail crossings safe, upgrade our school system.
- need clothing store for all ages - variety store - swimming pool.
- need one good department store and a better appliance store.
- need recreational areas for kids, improved schools, better grocery markets.
- should double the population, need industry, new restaurants, railroad caution signs.
- need new businesses — most any kind would help.
- need larger food store, better housing, more recreation, more business and jobs.
- need larger grocery store.
- We had established buying habits elsewhere before moving here.
- need new grocery store, new hardware store, two new clothing stores, movies.
- Grocers should join forces and make one good supermarket; better administration in schools; have dog leash law.
- consolidate high schools and grade schools for county — need better teachers.
- need more recreation facilities, any new business that would offer employment, better eating facilities, more interest of civic club members in community activities.
- need shopping center, clothing store, cafe; improve existing services.
- need shopping center, more variety of groceries, good auto repair garage, another clothing store, lumber yard, and hardware store.
- need grocery store that deals in volume instead of making all the profit on one item, need clothing stores with a selection, sporting goods not 100% higher than Twin Falls, restaurant with atmosphere, drug store not 120% over Twin Falls on prescription drugs.
- need clothing and shoe store, swimming pool, and industry to provide more jobs; need another M.D. if the town does grow.
- need competitive supermarket, good restaurant.
- need well stocked grocery store with competitive prices, department store.
- get rid of present council, get rid of the cliques, get rid of high priced grocery store.
- need chain type grocery store, larger farm implement supply store, and another bank for competition.
- need chain motel, shopping center.
- need competitive grocery and clothing stores, one or two small industries.
- farm equipment and parts store would be a big help.
- need supermarket with competitive prices, school system more responsive to needs of students, city council more responsive to needs of residents, more dynamic business community, and department store with wider range of merchandise.
- need grocery store, clothing store, swimming pool,

Shoshone - Consumer Questionnaire (Cont.)

for youth, farm equipment store, hardware and lumber store, improve water system.

- need lumber company, Safeway store.
- need modern shopping center. Shoshone is a good place to live. Some say the town is dying. This is not true. The people who say this expect the most but contribute very little toward making it a better place to live.
- need clean well-stocked supermarket with fresh produce, need more progressive attitude toward education, more emphasis on lifetime sports in schools rather than team sports, more progressive attitude toward varying life styles, need passenger trains.
- need more recreation for children, better restaurants, swimming pool, shopping center with better store selection.
- need swimming pool, recreation vehicle park, a chain grocery and department store or cooperative by local merchants, adequate warning on rail crossings.
- need more and better housing, some type of industry, more businesses, and a swimming pool for children.
- need banking, clothing store, shopping center.
- need a supermarket, better restaurant.
- need permanent employment for young people.
- need TV and appliance repair shop - recreation for children and adults (golf) — industry.
- need good grocery store, quality clothing store.
- need a good clean well stocked grocery store, a good clean restaurant, a good automotive repair service, and a swimming pool for kids.
- Ridiculous to have seven police for a town of 800; need at least one more grocery store and drug store, and a swimming pool for kids.
- need a swimming pool, need a good restaurant. One here is not bad but doesn't stay open.
- need younger people's ideas used or considered — more things to do like dances, socials — better education, more encouragement from town officials in building and setting up new businesses.
- can't think of anything needed except industry.
- Police should be stricter with drug and alcohol abusers. Shoshone should have a well sponsored recreation program.
- should have a supermarket, drug store, some business to employ people, more police enforcement.
- need a restaurant that will stay open all day, a second hand store, a TV and appliance repair shop.
- Shoshone is healthy, but not growing.
- need more people.
- need better housing, friendlier business relations, good supermarket, new motel and restaurant, an auto dealer, an implement dealer.
- need farm discount stores, grocery discount warehouse, implement dealer, roller skating rink, swimming pool, and industry like tupperware to create jobs.
- We need a nice shopping center.
- need a shopping center with a variety of items that would eliminate the necessity for out of town shopping.
- need a clean grocery store with a larger variety of vegetables and fruit; need less emphasis on team sports in the high school with more opportunities for growth in drama, music, literature, and debate and to develop knowledge of many occupations and manners of living.
- need competitive grocery, drug, and clothing stores.
- need to locate small businesses, better school funding.
- need good department store with sporting goods, a large grocery store with prices competitive with Twin Falls, and completion of the planned public swimming pool.
- need clothing store, lumber yard, drug store, furniture store, music store.
- It needs industry or something to create jobs so that the people don't have to go out of town to work. It's pretty expensive traveling to work. They should let industry come to town. Some of the people really fight any improvements.
- need supermarket.
- need clothing store.
- need a community chest or related social concerns agency, a Lincoln County community swimming pool, and fish stocked in the lower Little Wood River (trout, bass, catfish).
- Being on the route to Sun Valley we should have some inexpensive motels to encourage people to stay here instead of paying more further north — renovate downtown.
- need supermarket with fair prices; need new blood, new ideas, new business, industry.
- We need a good shopping center.
- consolidate schools (favor higher taxes for this); need supermarket, auto repair service.
- don't Californicate Shoshone, or Idaho either.
- need more industry.
- more business means more people — more people means more business. I do think one gets more for his money in Shoshone than any other place near here. I feel safe here. Our police are on the alert at all times. Our townspeople are quick to help anyone in need. We are close enough to Twin Falls to get other needs satisfied.
- leave Shoshone as it is. All the stores are adequate and if you can't find what you want there's only a short drive to growing communities to do your shopping. Bringing industry into Shoshone would ruin the quiet way of life that everyone is striving for.
- R.R. crossing equipment being dictated by Union Pacific R.R.
- need building construction and repair; need farm implement dealer, lumber yard, and any compatible small manufacturing business.
- need better, cleaner cafe, better stocked grocery store.
- what is value of all these investigations? Every year we have had reports and they are just so much paper bound up in book form sitting on some official's shelf.
- need men's clothing and women's dress shop, auto agency, lumber yard, restaurant.
- need senior citizen organization, good restaurant such as Spanish style, need one good grocery store, upgrade one department store or another dress shop; need clean industry and housing.
- Shoshone merchants could and must become more competitive price-wise and carry larger stocks.
- need doctor, dentist, grocery chain store.
- Shoshone is a nice small town. I feel that more population would be of no help.

Shoshone - Consumer Questionnaire (Cont.)

- need better or larger grocery store, authorized car dealership.
- need chain type grocery, clothing store, odds and ends store, recreation facilities for the kids.
- need better law enforcement, better recreation facilities, better and reasonably priced stores, better relationships in town.
- need better return on our tax dollar. Improve schools (reduce athletic emphasis, more art, drama and cultural offerings). Less markup on groceries from farm to consumer.
- better system for R.R. crossing, better bank.
- need auto dealer; groceries too high due to delivery charges; clothing store.
- More than one department store would help.
- need a variety store, clothing store.
- Shoshone could use small clean industry. Needs better rental housing, one clean modern well stocked grocery store; need updated and better stock in clothing store.
- need new school system — consolidated high school — a nice grocery store with average prices, a recreation center for teenagers.
- need shopping center.
- bring in cable TV. Have some industry come in to bring employment, start the train service again, have local grocery stores lower prices so people will stay in town and buy.
- need a good shopping center, another restaurant.
- repeal tenure law for teachers, phase out inventory tax, highway bypass town, overpass or underpass railroad.
- need department or clothing store, swimming pool (progress is being made), dog leash law.
- should be limited addition to business and industry. Need freedom from exploitation by special interest groups, unions, and big business. We're in a position where all of them hurt us. Return to a competitive position in world markets. I'm a great deal more concerned about our national situation than the local one.
- need at least one good restaurant and good hardware store.
- need clothing store, shoe store, dime store, better equipped hardware store, another dentist.
- need larger grocery and variety stores with more reasonable prices, need a medical clinic, need public kindergarten and nursery.
- give the business area a face lift.
- I think we need business or industry like Tupperware, Killwood, and others.
- people should be more friendly. Parents should uphold law in regard to children. The different religions should cooperate better. Schools should have better discipline. This will probably not help, but I'm glad we don't have any children in this school. Several families are sending their children to other schools, so form your own conclusion.
- need clothing, lumber stores, and shoe repair.
- need a better place to buy parts for machinery — usually have to drive out of town to get them or else it's just cheaper to go out of town. Our clothing store is too high priced for this small a community. Local leaders and businessmen don't like competitive businesses moving in or a local business to improve.
- need more competitive business spirit, school consolidation.
- Need more jobs and better wages, more selection in stores, and better machine and auto parts houses.
- Shoshone needs a Safeway or IGA for competitive pricing. The library should open on Saturday. Need more things for young people to do. A small industry needed for employment and to bring area wages up.
- need more merchandise variety in stores, clean up retail establishments, keep up interior and exterior of buildings.

Shoshone - Business Questionnaire

- Inflation and better services have helped business.
- add farm machinery parts house.
- The town of Shoshone has not changed in population in 50 years. Businesses have declined mainly because of easy access to larger towns. I do not see how this trend can be reversed, but I believe it has reached its highest level. In other words I think that business in this town will get better as time goes on.
- need good shopping center.
- another bank added, also grocery stores need improvement.
- I would like to see more business district improvement. Stores are small and crowded, most fronts of businesses need improving (starting with my own). Am planning on using Western style front as soon as labor is available.
- should accept any new form of factory.
- have local patrons support current stores to enable merchants to carry larger inventories.
- Due to current shortages in several products and the energy crisis, local counties and towns have more unity. If the energy crisis continues, people will be forced to do more local buying. I think the merchants should force this and do more towards supplying the increased demand.
- operating at a loss since passenger trains are gone and since gasoline shortage — would like to retire.
- new plumbing needed for hookup to new city sewer system.
- There is an empty cafe in building.
- business down because of loss of passenger trains, so many farms selling to big corporations, and too many bars in Shoshone.
- need another cafe, need public restrooms as ours is only one available many hours and we have to pay for sewer and water.
- I think Shoshone is a good retirement town and don't expect to see new business and like it the way it is.
- State won't let us put up advertising sign on highway.
- no improvement in business property since attitude is the rent is low and does not warrant any improvements. We need help from city council.
- need added grocery store, clothing store, lumber and hardware stores.
- business will stay stable as long as no new highways are developed. Have State Highway Department refrain from suggesting bypass every few years.
- business decreased after interstate highway.
- need lumber, grocery, and farm machinery stores.
- Encourage the people within the county to support and even help local business and development. By

Shoshone - Business Questionnaire (Cont.)

that method we can stabilize the local tax structure. If accomplished, local businesses will be in better position to support county highways, city schools, and cemeteries, the 4-H fair, and all other taxing units. I never have known Sears, Buttery, Volco, Tempo, K Mart, Pennywise, Holiday, Osco, Farm and City, D & B, etc. to help any of our local taxing units. Why should we support them?

— need shopping center with motel and good restaurant that stays open.

— There needs to be more doers in town — not just talkers.

— need another clothing and variety store.

— I personally think as soon as the people know there is a place for small businesses and small communities, they will stand out again the same as we still need the small or family farms.

— need modern restaurant that could accommodate larger groups, also a small business that would employ 10-20 people.

— need clothing, electrical, T.V. repair, auto repair, small industry of any type, upgrade grocery stores, doctors, dentist, one more attorney, a good motel.

— need supermarket, adequate clothing stores, auto dealership.

— business down, too many gas stations.

— need shopping center.

— need community cooperation.

— I think a small manufacturing business could be located here, one that sends a product to various points in the country. A manufacturing business could be cheaper here than other places because overhead and probably labor would be cheaper.

— increased business; dairy herds increasing in southern Idaho; need for replacements increasing rapidly.

— remodeling necessitated by continued pressure from E.P.A. and need for larger facilities.

— since I am now 68, will sell within few years.

— community needs good plumbing shop.

— If some industry or other business started up there would be more jobs available.

— restaurant, clothing store, motel, nite club — should be added to if in newer building or completely remodeled if in older one.

— town needs railroad passenger service.

— need less emphasis on environmental control, more efficient personnel, and less demanding enforcement.

— need well stocked and well managed grocery.

— need more sources of income to increase growth of area.

— A supermarket might add to local business generally, if this could be done without injury to the local merchants.

— A clean factory or assembly plant could improve business in the area.

— Some 20 years ago interested businessmen of the town incorporated and built a sale yard in Shoshone. It faltered several times and was sold at 25% of cost. Good management bought the business and today it has the reputation of being one of the largest sales of its kind for livestock in the state.

— more competition needed on a local basis. I would invite another store to our community as good or better than ours.

— Shoshone has its place in our state. Though we are not big, we are needed for the local people, the traveler, and the retired. Our location is such that I would not want to leave even if I retired. A person can get most necessities for a livelihood here. A great drawing card in my opinion is we are close to larger cities, best fishing in the country, best outdoor beauty, and recreation areas to the north, along with a good climate. It's home to me.

— We are 15 miles from the nearest larger town. The small farmers are selling out to larger farmers. There is a sharp decrease in population. My husband and I work 11½ hours daily except Sunday. We have had problems getting suppliers to bring us goods — we are off the major highway.

— I think we should have better grocery stores and clothing stores.

— need a good variety store, more entertainment for the kids.

— A banquet room and meeting room added to this place would be ideal.

— need complete turnover in city government — someone that's interested in growth.

— I would like to see young people on the city council. The present members aren't interested in growth. If the city council would get off their duff and supply city water and city sewer to the empty lots for building we would have the 21 employees who work for the B.L.M. and highway department living and building their new homes in Shoshone instead of in Gooding. Sure it costs lots of money. But you take a 25 x 125 foot lot empty — the taxes are about $10 a year. But if there is a home on it, the taxes are about $150-$200 a year. That is a pretty good investment and it brings more trade and growth to our community.

— business down. It is close to a larger town with better shopping facilities. Need people to shop at home and not go to Twin Falls for things available here.

— Agricultural transportation is too readily available today — hence large closeby communities hurt small towns. No new agricultural project involving increased acreage is in sight.

— If Shoshone started to grow and started building such as Jerome has recently, with two new industrial plants, then remodeling would be in order.

— A good motel would attract some tourists. Also a good full-time restaurant would help like everything. We have none that open from noon on.

— Shoshone is almost at a standstill unless we can attract some small industry. There is no reason why one couldn't locate here since people now drive from here to work in the new Tupperware plant in Jerome.

Cottonwood - Consumer Questionnaire

— all is fine.

— finish highway bypass, remove feed yards from city center, need grocery, clothing and drug stores.

— need youth and adult recreation, shopping center. The people in Cottonwood are very narrow-minded because most of them have never been over 200 miles from this town. If these people were educated to the ways of living of their fellow Americans, Cottonwood would be a better place to live. I don't know how to educate them though.

Cottonwood - Consumer Questionnaire (Cont.)

- get competitively priced with other towns! Cottonwood could use a low cost restaurant, an auto repair shop, a good chiropractor, more electricians and carpenters.
- locate a highway maintenance crew here. Need a shoe repair shop, auto agency, a good dentist, and a good (not filthy) theatre.
- could use better hardware store with more selection, better management of bowling alley.
- need a good appliance and TV repair shop, a good electrician and plumber, a dentist, a youth center.
- need a good cafe, a swimming pool, should oil some more of the streets.
- need good auto repair shop, restaurant.
- need grocery stores with more assortment, a drive-in that's reasonable where you can take your family, a multi-purpose drug store.
- I know of no changes needed.
- need department and grocery stores, need industry.
- need community swimming pool, recreational facilities for teenage and young adults. Should decrease ingrown nature of community and increase awareness of outside world. Should be greater acceptance of Job Corpsmen and staff.
- need library or bookmobile, swimming pool, chain grocery store, good clothing store.
- need new clothing store, more recreational place for teens, swimming pool for children, MacDonalds or A & W.
- build swimming pool in park, shut down Job Corps, need good dentist, need Warehouse Food store on Prairie.
- need a swimming pool, kids recreation spot, a city council that doesn't have it all their way, a chain store like Safeway or Warehouse Foods, a place to go for fun outside of a beer joint.
- need business or industry that would help the community to grow and provide jobs with decent wages for our young people, industries that wouldn't pollute or destroy our beautiful environment.
- need more recreation facilities for teenagers.
- Water rates should be lower. We do not need the Job Corps. Put them with their people. It isn't safe for our girls to walk on the street.
- We are fortunate to have our fine schools, excellent hospital and doctors and churches. We think Cottonwood is a good place to live and a good place to raise a family.
- Cottonwood should have more clothing stores and more recreation opportunities for the young.
- need restaurant with some class, clean youth recreation center where beer not sold, auto dealer, swimming pool.
- get some kind of industry for young people, let new store come into town.
- Police service is substandard and swimming pool is needed, library should be developed.
- A swimming pool would be nice.
- need industry so jobs would be available.
- need vocational training in high school, improved recreation and entertainment facilities, alcoholic education and treatment program, industrial development to expand job opportunities.
- need Penneys store.
- need clothing and shoe store. Get the Job Corps out of here. The people are not ready for them yet.
- need more specialist doctors, auto parts house.
- should be fewer bars, more recreational facilities (swimming pool), better law enforcement.
- need a good restaurant, tire service center, dentist, another doctor; grocery prices are too high.
- need a big shopping center, or Warehouse Foods store.
- need something for kids from 7th to 12th grade, need any big stores that can match Lewiston prices on groceries, clothing, and furniture. The prices are double on most things here so we have to go to Lewiston.
- need Penneys store, shoe store, and repair shop.
- would like a shopping center.
- need swimming pool, a new highway to bypass town.
- thing that would help Cottonwood most would be to put ranching and farming on the same level as the rest of the economy so we could support our towns.
- need swimming pool and another department store, more good doctors, electric service, some entertainment for children.
- need supermarket, movie theatre, swimming pool.
- give young people a better chance to get set up in farming and ranching. Lately older people have been selling for their pocket books instead of the communities future. Need jobs, housing and opportunities for young women. The only time a girl settles here is to get married. No social life outside of the bars.
- need clothing store, some place for teenagers.
- I don't think teenagers have proper recreational facilities. It is almost impossible to get any small electrical or plumbing jobs done, always too busy with the big jobs.
- need stores with larger selection of items.
- need more housing, new industry.
- need at least two clothing or department stores, a good auto garage, an improved ski area on the butte, at least one good night spot (pizza house), theatres, swimming pool, downtown urban renewal and landscaping.
- need year-round swimming pool.
- Cottonwood needs plumber and electrician, and auto repair shop.
- Cottonwood needs a whole new business district. Stores are too high priced and clerks are not courteous. Cottonwood needs jobs and small industry with private capital, not government jobs or grants.
- need meat market, supermarket, better restaurant.
- needs new auto garage.
- need another repair business for household and electrical items, need something (other than nature) for young people's recreation, need another doctor — there's plenty of business for one more, should improve side streets.
- should have something for kids besides drinking beer — that goes for the adults, too.
- I've moved to Lewiston.
- need a swimming pool, roller skating rink, new administration for the elementary school, new city administration.
- need recreation for children, more rental housing, stricter law enforcement (speed on streets).
- need grocery stores with lower prices, more entertainment for youth, indoor swimming pool, more concern for Job Corpsmen, more open minded people.

Cottonwood - Consumer Questionnaire (Cont.)

— get a Warehouse Foods store in the Prairie. Should be cheaper water bill as we got a new well. No one can afford to keep their yards watered so Cottonwood can be pretty. Need more repairmen so one doesn't have to wait months on a TV or washer.

— One thing I don't like about Cottonwood, and I've been here 12 years, is that if you don't have the right name you don't make it around this city.

— bury some of the old chiefs.

— need manufacturing or processing plant.

— need better acceptance by local people, more modern school system and library; is too much drinking; need Welcome Wagon or other means of meeting and getting to know new people.

— need meat market, industry to keep young people here.

— need a surgeon, a dentist, auto repair, shoe repair, plumbing, heating and wiring repair.

— need better restaurants and clothing stores.

— My husband filled out your questionnaire but it doesn't reflect my attitude. We live in a town that may be growing but only as a retirement place. Young people still have to leave to find work. My husband has a home, wife and large family which became my responsibility from Sunday evening till Friday night because to support us he lives out of town all week. The men in town who don't drive to Grangeville to work find themselves in this position.

— It would do no good to bring in new stores unless new industries came in to support them. There is no place for young people to work here so must leave to find employment.

— need year-round swimming pool, more interest in street improvement, lower water rates, more interest in keeping public grounds green.

— would like to see one of the catalog order stores here, very much in need of place for kids to go. We need our own pool. Would like a Warehouse Foods store.

— need supermarket, chain clothing store, swimming pool.

— need new restaurant, young folk meeting place, auto repair shop.

Cottonwood - Business Questionnaire

— add full-time attorney.

— plumbing and electrical services needed, a good grocery store, swimming pool.

— would like to see the government sell all the land they own in our state. This would open up opportunity for more business and put the land on the tax rolls.

— will do well to keep this small community from declining.

— The operation is heavily in debt and will do well to eventually break even.

— believe we are doing everything possible to keep our small community stable.

— need first class restaurant.

— would like to see Warehouse Foods type store. People will travel 60 miles to shop at these.

— larger grocery stores needed; plumbing and heating firm needed.

— Cottonwood was in a slump in 1970 and 1971. New homes began in 1972 and 1973. All houses filled. Quite a few working in Grangeville mills. Employment is needed here. Many people would like to live here but cannot find employment. We do need an industrial type business but the community leaders neither have the time nor money to promote.

— need more patronage of local businesses.

— There is nothing to make it grow.

— compete with similar establishment in Grangeville and both lose.

— business down — loss of Air Force radar site and other businesses hurt.

— need some business or industry that would increase employment at a living wage and would thereby increase population.

— business increased — larger population.

— need small manufacturing to increase payroll.

— My business comes from outside communities. I get about 25% or less of my business locally.

— A good supermarket and local car agency would improve the business community and keep dollars at home that are now spent out of town.

— increased business due to better grain yields, better varieties and fertilization.

— need more competing stores, better shopping variety.

— need department store or supermarket.

— planning on selling and retiring.

— owner wants to sell building as is and doesn't want to spend money on improvements.

— fewer service stations in town — used to be four, now there are two.

— The town is badly in need of another plumber and electrician. The ones we have can't keep up with work — service is poor.

— I plan to retire in a short time so plan to sell.

— auto repair shop should be added — people have to leave town for all mechanical work on cars.

— you have got to show an increase to stay in business and pay taxes.

— plan on selling.

— electronic repair needed.

— My principal office is Nezperce with a branch office in Cottonwood. I find most of these smaller areas are growing. I am building a new office in Nezperce and will hire additional help. Several new business buildings are going up in both places. I have lived in this area all of my life and believe the opportunities are unlimited for anyone who wants to contribute something.

— need competitive grocery and gas business.

— Keuterville has a general store, a tavern, a church since 1892, a parish house, and about 100 registered voters. At present the sawmill is the only and last of the many mills that once furnished lumber for the building of the Idaho County town and railroad bridges. Now it trades with the farmer communities of Idaho, Lewis, and parts of Nez Perce and Clearwater counties with some as far east as Nebraska, south to Arizona, and west to Pasco and Spokane.

— business decreased, because of inflation and do-it-yourself operations.

— The basic payroll has been lost in this area since the mill and Air Force are gone. Most people go to Grangeville or Lewiston for large amounts of shopping.

— full-time attorney needed.

Cottonwood - Business Questionnaire (Cont.)

— need electric service and repair, auto and tire dealer, beauty operator.
— need any business that would have a payroll.
— need full-time attorney.
— would sell if we had a chance.
— need industry.
— In my opinion there are more bars and taverns in Cottonwood than necessary for a town this size.
— I think the main reason for a decline in business in Cottonwood and many other small towns is that many businesses overcharge on many items like drugs and groceries. This causes a great many people to go to Lewiston for the better prices, in turn hurting the businessman who is trying to remain competitive.
— Several new homes are being built and no vacancies or rentals are available.

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The State is truly our campus. We desire to work for all citizens of the State striving to provide the best possible educational and research information and its application through Cooperative Extension in order to provide a high quality food supply, a strong economy for the State and a quality of life desired by all.

Auttis M. Mullins
Dean, College of Agriculture
University of Idaho

TEACHING RESEARCH SERVICE

SERVING THE STATE

This is the three-fold charge of the College of Agriculture at your state Land-Grant institution, the University of Idaho. To fulfill this charge, the College extends its faculty and resources to all parts of the state.

Service ... The Cooperative Extension Service has active programs in 42 of Idaho's 44 counties. Current organization places major emphasis on county office contact and multi-county specialists to better serve all the people. These College of Agriculture faculty members are supported cooperatively by federal, state and county funding to work with agriculture, home economics, youth and community development.

Research ... Agricultural Research scientists are located at the campus in Moscow, at Research and Extension Centers near Aberdeen, Caldwell, Parma, Sandpoint Tetonia, Twin Falls and at the U.S. Sheep Experiment Station, Dubois and the USDA/ARS Soil and Water Laboratory at Kimberly. Their work includes research on every major agricultural program in Idaho and on economic and community development activities that apply to the state as a whole.

Teaching ... Centers of College of Agriculture teaching are the University classrooms and laboratories where agriculture students can earn bachelor of science degrees in any of 20 major fields, or work for master's and Ph.D. degrees in their specialties. And beyond these are the variety of workshops and training sessions developed throughout the state for adults and youth by College of Agriculture faculty.

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